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THE CEMETERIES OF ABYDOS

PART II.—1911-1912.

BY

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(FORMERLY CRAVEN FELLOW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD)

WITH THIRTY-NINE PLATES

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PREFACE.

This volume is designed to deal with all the tomb work done by the Fund in the three seasons 1909–10, 1910–11, and 1911–12, with the exception of the earlier excavations in Cemetery E, which are to form part of another volume, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, I. A few tombs are added which were excavated in 1912–13, but which did not fit naturally into the scheme of the publication of that year's work, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III.

It must be understood that the work which here appears under my name is the product of the combined labours of several people. Thus a large proportion of the drawing is the work of Mr. James A. Dixon, who was with us during the first two seasons. In the second season we were joined towards the end by our American representative, Professor T. Whittemore, who has worked with us since. In the third season we had the good fortune to secure the services of Mr. J. P. Droop. The importance of his work, especially in reference to the pottery and the tomb architecture, will easily be gathered from the quotations from his reports which are here inserted verbatim. In the same season the Hon. R. E. Trefusis also worked with us, and was responsible for much of the recording. To our great regret he was unable to be at Abydos for the fourth winter. Those who have studied *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III., will know Mr. W. L. S. Loat's minute and patient work on the ibis cemetery found in our fourth season. That he also made time to do other things is evident from the fact that nearly all the drawing, and much of the recording, included here from the season 1912–13 is the work of his hand.

In attempting to deal with work ranging over four years, and including numerous cemeteries, the difficulty of arrangement is considerable. A chronological order is, as a rule, most satisfactory and most scientific, and this was my original aim here. But it soon became apparent that this would lead to utter confusion, partly because every cemetery contained tombs of most varying periods, and partly because there are so many tombs whose date cannot be accurately fixed. It was therefore necessary to fall back on a topographical arrangement. Each chapter deals with a cemetery or region of Abydos, and a chronological division is adopted

within the chapter itself. This has the advantage of allowing the history of each cemetery to be clearly seen without entirely throwing over distinction of period.

One exception, however, was necessary to this rule. The numerous large brick-vaulted tombs of the later dynasties which lie scattered over almost the whole of the site of Abydos, particularly near the cultivation, have been collected in Chapter VIII. This was necessary in order that the structure and development of this type of tomb might be properly studied.

The short table on the next page will enable the reader to pick out at once those chapters or parts of chapters which deal with the material of any particular period.

Sir Herbert Thompson has very kindly written for us an account of a number of demotic ostraca which we found.

T. Eric Peet.

Liverpool,
February, 1914.

REFERENCE LIST OF CHAPTERS IN WHICH THE VARIOUS PERIODS ARE DEALT WITH.

Period.	Chapters.
Predynastic.	I., II., III. (beginning).
Ist Dynasty.	IV.
VIth Dynasty.	III. (middle), VII. (beginning).
Middle Kingdom.	IV. (middle), V. (beginning), VI. (beginning), VII. (middle).
XIIIth–XVIIth Dyn.	VI. (middle).
XVIIIth–XIXth Dyn.	VI. (middle), VII. (end), and IX.
Later Dynasties.	III. (end), IV. (end), VI. (end), VIII.
Ptolemaic Period.	VIII.
Roman Period.	IX.
Coptic Period.	V. (end).

INTRODUCTION.

It may be doubted whether anyone has ever set out to combine in a single volume such a miscellaneous mass of material as that which forms the contents of the present memoir. This miscellaneity is the consequence of the nature and history of the site. From the excavator's point of view, Abydos is both one of the best and one of the worst of sites; one of the best because of its size, its importance, and the long period which its burials and its buildings cover, one of the worst because it has been so hardly treated by modern excavators. It is true that much excellent work has been done on its temples and larger monuments by various explorers, but its cemeteries have suffered the penalty which renown always brings in such cases. They have for years been the happy hunting-ground of the native dealer, and, what is worse, they have been the prey of early excavators, who in their superficial search for rich tombs have done untold damage to the rest. It is an astonishing reflection that, previous to the taking over of the site by the Fund in 1908, not a single excavator of the numbers who worked on the site had ever taken a single region of the cemetery and worked it systematically to a finish, with the exception of Mace and MacIver in 1900–1 and Garstang in 1906–9. The result is that there is scarcely any part of Abydos where one can begin work with the assurance that the whole of the evidence left by antiquity will be available for one's use. He who digs a section of the site containing mastabas of the Middle Kingdom must expect to find the two or three largest and finest destroyed without any record of their form having been kept. In the great north and south cemeteries the devastation wrought by these excavators is particularly complete, and one has too often no means of knowing whether the great heaps of refuse thrown haphazard in all directions cover excavated or unexcavated tombs.

From these circumstances it results that while we have in a few cases been able to clear systematically regions containing burials of particular periods, such as E, S and D, and to give a clear idea of the history of such regions, and of the civilization prevailing at the time they were in use, more often we have had to content ourselves with filling up the lacunae left by the unsystematic methods of much earlier workers. This last is particularly the case in regard to the burials of the Intermediate Period and the brick-vaulted tombs of the later dynasties. Had a single group of excavators been able, twenty years ago, to take over the site and work through it slowly and systematically from end to end, throwing always on to excavated ground, they would have made additions to our knowledge of the development of Egyptian civilization the number and importance of which we can hardly realize.

It is, however, too late to adopt any such Utopian methods, and the Fund is compelled to undertake the humbler and more difficult task of saving as much as possible of what remains. How much there is even now will be apparent from the pages of this volume. If our work seems in places incoherent, the nature of the task we have undertaken must be our excuse.

At many points we have broken new ground. Thus the ibis cemetery, found in 1913 and cleared and recorded entirely by Mr. Loat, is beyond doubt the most completely recorded animal or bird cemetery in Egypt. In the same year we excavated the mastaba cemetery of the IVth Dynasty, an entire novelty for Abydos. The previous season was marked by the finding of a predynastic settlement in a far better state of preservation than any other in the country. The year before that, again, came the discovery of the remarkable well—possibly that mentioned by Strabo—and the dogs' catacombs adjoining

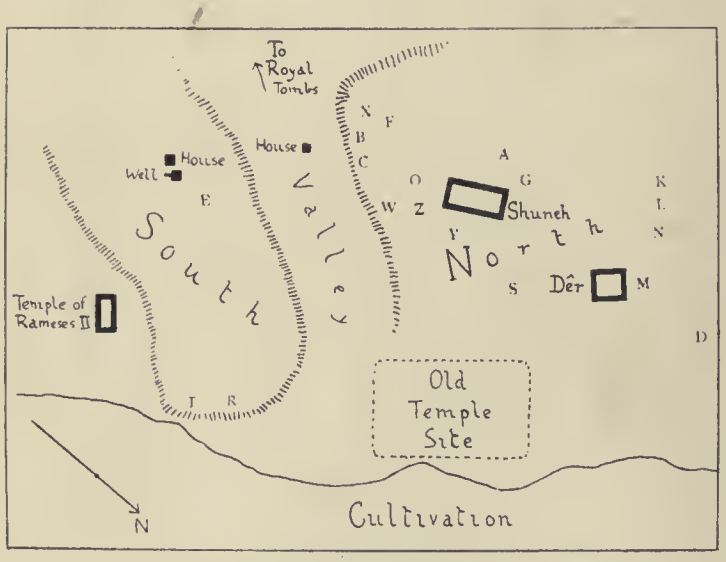

Fig. 1. Sketch plan of Abydos showing the position of the various regions.

it. The winter 1909–10 was not without its new discovery, for it was then that we first came upon the cemetery lettered E, used first in the predynastic period, and later in the VIth Dynasty.

So much for entirely new discoveries. Under the head of supplementary labours may be mentioned our attempt to clear up once and for all the evolution of the mastaba form on this site, our close examination of the structure and development of the late dynastic brick-vaulted tombs, and our study of the much-neglected pottery of the Intermediate Period. To these may perhaps be added our suggested new classification of the pottery of the predynastic era.

For convenience of reference we have divided the site into regions, each marked in the plan (fig. 1) with a letter. Every tomb bears a number, preceded by the letter of the region in which it lies, so that it is possible to assign any tomb at once to its position on the site.

The plan needs a word of explanation. It includes the whole of what are known as the cemeteries of Abydos proper, with the exception of Umm el Qa'âb, the site of the early Royal Tombs, which lies further to the west. Those who know the site will at once recognize its landmarks, the Shuneh, the Dêr, and the Rameses temple, as well as the two Fund houses, the older in the valley and the newer in the south cemetery. The Seti temple lies just off the plan to the left.

The compass-point should be noticed. The north marked is the magnetic, but the north used by the inhabitants of the country, whether modern Arab or ancient Egyptian, is that determined by the direction in which the Nile is flowing at the point nearest to Abydos. We thus get what we may call a "local" north and south, or a north and south by river reckoning, and as this was the point used by the Egyptians in orienting their tombs, we have used it throughout the description of the tombs. As the river at this point of its course flows about north-west by north, the local north and south line at Abydos is given approximately by the horizontal edges of the plan.

It will be seen that the site is divided into two clear halves by what we have marked as a valley. This is, strictly speaking, a misnomer. It is true that the valley is a continuation of the dry watercourse which winds down to the cultivation from the mouth of the great valley in the limestone cliffs two miles back. But this watercourse flows for the first two miles over open plain, and even when it reaches the portion

shown on our plan its banks are only some twelve or fifteen feet high. It is therefore in reality nothing more than a long shallow depression in the midst of the site.

The soft rock in which the tombs are cut is strictly speaking not rock at all, but a deposit which in some parts crumbles at the touch, and even when hardest can be easily broken with the pick. The term *gebel* has been avoided, in the first place because it is not an English word, and in the second place because it is extremely equivocal.

It is interesting to note the periods at which the various regions of the site came into and dropped out of use for burials. It was clearly not the custom to bury at random anywhere on the site, especially in early times, when there was still plenty of space, but certain portions, determined by natural or artificial bounds, were marked out for burial at particular periods, and remained in use, as a rule, until full, when a move was made to a new part of the site. As will be observed presently, there was no attempt to fill up the whole space in a systematic method, starting from one point and spreading gradually in various directions.

In the predynastic period several parts of the site seem to have been used simultaneously, namely, E, U (near the Royal Tombs), and the cemeteries lettered ϕ and χ and excavated by MacIver in 1900–1. Several of the Royal Tombs also are perhaps to be assigned to that period. In the Ist Dynasty we have the Royal Tombs at Umm el Qa'âb and many of the smaller tombs around them, together with the tombs found by us in Region S, and by Petrie on the old temple site. There is nothing of the IInd Dynasty, with the exception of a plundered cemetery out on the ridges beyond Umm el Qa'âb, mentioned by Ayrton in *Archaeological Report*, 1908–9. The IIIrd Dynasty seems to be a blank. Of the IVth and perhaps the Vth Dynasty we have the mastaba tombs of D, though these can hardly be the only tombs of that period at Abydos, and there are probably more between these and the cultivation.[1] We now have a considerable jump, and the burials of the Vth and VIth Dynasties take us some way to the south, to Regions R and T. It is not easy to assign a reason for this move, unless it be a change in the position of the village of Abydos, or the desire to fill up the edge of the desert before going deeper into it. The next move, made before the end of the VIth Dynasty, was a return to E, a piece of ground already occupied by burials of the predynastic period. This plot continued in use probably well into the period which intervened between the VIth and XIIth Dynasties. It was perhaps during the XIth Dynasty, or even earlier, that it was abandoned, and a new district around the Coptic Dêr was opened up. The majority of the burials were made in the north portion of S, but there were others in D and near L and N. In the XIIth Dynasty all three regions continued in use. In S the direction of movement was southward, and the burials in the northern portion certainly take us into the full bloom of the dynasty. In D there is a tomb dated to the reign of Amenemhat III., and in the K–L region lies Garstang's famous tomb with the Middle Minoan vase and cylinders of Senusret III. and Amenemhat III. It is very probable that the region now occupied by the modern Coptic cemetery covers the greater part of the main Middle Kingdom cemetery of Abydos, for at both north and south edges of this patch we have good tombs of the XIIth Dynasty. The tombs of the XIIIth to XVIIth Dynasties occupy quite a definite region, the southern part of the north cemetery, that is to say, the regions lettered X, B, C, O, W and Z. It will readily be seen by reference to the plan that by the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty the space available for tombs was becoming somewhat

[1] There are a few Old Kingdom mastabas in the north cemetery (cf. Garstang, *El Arabah*, p. 20).

restricted, and it is therefore not astonishing to find that during that dynasty the re-use of old tombs began. Curiously enough, the tombs which suffered most from this custom were the more recent—those of the Intermediate Period in the north cemetery. At the same time, though no perfectly new ground seems to have been opened, shaft tombs were dug in among those of earlier date both on the ridge R–T and in D, and the latter cemetery was extended as far as M. Small surface tombs of this and the succeeding period are to be found in almost every part of the site. In the XIXth to XXIst Dynasties a number of fine tombs were built on the extreme west edge of the south end of the north cemetery, but the re-use of older tombs in this cemetery remained practically the rule for all but the great. From the XXIInd Dynasty onward the large brick-vaulted tombs of the rich were scattered over almost the whole of the site with little or no consideration for the burials which preceded them. The great south cemetery was the part most affected by the builders of these tombs, which lie thickly in E and over the space which separates E from R and T, as well as to the west of E. In Cemeteries S and Y, too, they are frequent, as well as in the long stretch of ground which lies between R and S. The north cemetery, on the other hand, except for the west end of the ridge, is comparatively free from them. Those of E are generally the latest, dating mainly from the Ptolemaic period. Smaller tombs of this date occur in the east end of the central valley. The cemetery of the Roman period undoubtedly lies behind the temenos of the Seti temple, where there are a number of plundered trench graves, and the ground is covered with fragments of Aretine ware and its local imitations, and with pieces of embroidery. The latest burials on the site are those of the Coptic period, which are occasionally found north of the Dêr.

THE CEMETERIES OF ABYDOS.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

PREDYNASTIC SETTLEMENT AND GRAIN KILN.

General Description.

The predynastic settlement lies on the desert behind the temple of Seti, immediately outside the great brick temenos wall of the temple itself. It is thus not more than two hundred yards from the edge of the cultivated land. There is no surface indication of the presence of any remains, and the discovery was due to accident.

The settlement may be described as a roughly circular area, with a diameter of about thirty metres, over which remains of the everyday life of the predynastic period are found mixed with the sand. In order to determine the form and extent of the area we first drove two trenches into it, one on its north and south diameter (Trench A), and the other on another diameter running north-east and south-west (Trench B). The sections exposed in these trenches varied a little from place to place. Thus in Trench A, at a point ten metres from its south end, the section was :—

0–80 cm. Clean blown sand.
80–100 cm. Darker sand with remains of various kinds—bones, potsherds, flints, charcoal &c.
100–120 cm. Grey earth with similar remains, less sand, and much powdered mud.
120 cm. Virgin rock.

In the same trench, ten metres from its north end, the section read :—

0–15 cm. Clean blown sand.
15–45 cm. Darker sand, with remains as in the last section.
45–85 cm. The same, with streaks of clean sand.
85–100 cm. Grey earth with remains, less sand, and much powdered mud.
100 cm. Virgin rock.

In the northern half of Trench B the stratum containing remains was much thinner, and at a point ten metres from the north-east end the section was as follows :—

0–32 cm. Clean blown sand.
32–48 cm. Dark sand with remains.
48–130 cm. Clean virgin sand.
130 cm. Rock.

From these sections, and many others taken when the whole area was dug over, the following conclusions were reached :—

1. There was some little variation from spot to spot in the amount of sand which lay over the face of the rock at the time when the settlement was made.

2. It is not possible to distinguish chronologically any of the strata from any other, the settlement representing a single period, and that probably not a long one.

3. The grey stratum at the bottom containing

powdered mud is probably the remains of huts built of wattle and covered with mud. The absence of this stratum in the outermost part of the area shows that the huts, as might have been expected, lay rather towards the centre. An examination of the face of the rock beneath the lowest stratum revealed no signs of foundations for the huts or of sockets for tent-poles, such as those observed by Garstang at Maḥasna.[1]

4. At the south side of the area, and on its outer edge, were the remains of two large hearths. They were not floored or marked off in any way, but consisted each of a circular heap of charcoal five or six metres in diameter. The charcoal seemed mainly to be the remains of reeds and thin branches rather than of logs of wood. Mixed with it was, of course, a certain amount of sand, but very few remains except fragments of bone. The stratum of charcoal was thickest at the centre of the hearths, where it measured about 40 cm. It is noticeable that the hearths were placed on the south side of the settlement, so that the prevailing north winds would blow the smoke away from the huts instead of towards them.

The Objects found in the Settlement.

The interest of these is that they represent the objects used by predynastic man in his everyday life, whereas his products are generally known to us only from his tombs. The great lesson that they teach is that the objects deposited with the dead are not necessarily a fair sample of those used in ordinary life. It is true that in this settlement we have examples of extremely fine work in flint, which will compare not unfavourably with those found in predynastic tombs; but these form only a small proportion of the flints found, the great majority of which are much rougher and less shapely than anything known to us from tombs. The same is true of the objects of bone, for in this settlement were used bone implements of rough and simple types which we hardly ever meet in the graves. In the case of the pottery the same fact is observable. All or most of the types of pottery found in predynastic tombs are represented—red polished, black-topped, decorated, wavy-handled &c., but ninety-nine sherds out of a hundred are of plain unornamented coarse ware. All this is a proof of what has generally been imagined to be the case, namely, that the very finest of what a man possessed was placed with him in the tomb, and that some of the best objects found in tombs may even have been made specially for funeral use.

I.—*Objects of flint.*

These form a unique collection of the types used in everyday life by the predynastic people. It is clear that they were worked on the spot, for thousands of small shapeless flakes were found, together with one or two cores, the best of which is shown in Pl. III., fig. *f* 12. The chief forms are as follows:—

(*a*) Flakes showing no working.

1. Long thin flakes, 30 to 70 mm. in length, taken regularly off a core (Pl. III., figs. *e* 18–23).

2. Broader flakes, 30 to 90 mm. in length, with a point at one end (Pl. III., figs. *e* 16 and 17).

(*b*) Flakes slightly worked on one or more edges.

These of course show great variety. The work is usually confined to one point, and serves to fit the flake for some special task (Pl. III., figs. *f* 1–5).

(*c*) Knives.

1. Some are simply flakes of Type *a* 1, the damaged state of whose edges shows that they have been used for cutting.

2. Strong rectangular flakes, which have been given a good cutting edge by minute

[1] See *Maḥasna and Bêt Khallâf*, pp. 6–7 and Pl. iv.

working on the edge on one side only. Pl. III., figs. *f* 6 and 8, are good examples. They show the worked edge very clearly. The other edge still preserves part of the outer surface of the core.

3. Well-finished shapely knives, worked all over the surface, and having both edges sharpened for cutting (Pl. III., fig. *f* 7).

(*d*) Saws.

These are very numerous. They consist of rectangular flakes worked to a serrate edge on one side by minute flaking alternately from above and below. The other edge is often worked in small flakes to a thick blunt form. One face usually preserves the rough outside of the core; the other is quite unworked. The serrate edge is generally highly polished with use. The finest examples are Pl. III., figs. *e* 4–7 and 12.

(*e*) Scrapers.

1. Mere rough flints or flakes worked only at one or two points to give them a good scraping edge. Pl. III., fig. *c* 9 is a good example. The face shown preserves the rough outside of the core from which the flake was struck. The only working is a little chipping around the bottom, but the result is quite a good scraping edge. The two examples, Pl. III., figs. *d* 1 and 4, are interesting, for they are not new flakes, but old flints picked up on the higher desert and roughly worked at a few points. The worked edges are clearly distinguished by their lack of the thick patina which covers the rest of the flint. Such flints as these confirm the idea, now coming generally to be recognized, that neolithic man frequently used for ordinary purposes the most shapeless tools imaginable, working them no more than was necessary to make them suitable for the end in view. For this reason it is never safe to attribute a flint to the palæolithic age merely on the ground of its roughness and want of shape.

2. Circular scrapers, about 45 mm. in diameter, worked all round the edge or nearly so (Pl. III., figs. *c* 4 and 5).

3. Segmental or roughly rectangular, with one rounded edge worked for scraping (Pl. III., figs. *c* 1–3 and 10).

4. Rectangular, with the two narrow ends slightly rounded and worked for scraping (Pl. III., fig. *c* 12). This example is of great interest, for it anticipates the similar but finer scrapers of the Ist Dynasty (cf. Pl. IX., fig. 1).

In the last three types the working is confined to one face, which often preserves the rough outside of the core. The other face is simply the plain smooth surface of flaking.

(*f*) Borers.

Over three hundred of these were found, mostly near the centre of the settlement. As far as I am aware they never occur in the tombs. They consist of small flakes of flint worked at one end into a long thin point by means of the most minute flaking. In length they vary from 16 to 48 mm. So thin are the points in some cases that it is difficult to imagine how the flaking could have been carried out without breaking them, and indeed many of the specimens are broken, though whether from use or in the making cannot be determined (Pl. III., fig. *a*, upper half).

(*g*) Arrow-head.

Only one was found (Pl. III., fig. *a* 2). It is of black flint, 36 mm. in length.

II.—*Other objects of stone.*

Three large flat stones used for grinding corn (?) on, one of chert and the other two of sandstone. Also a flattish circular piece of chert, perhaps used for grinding on these (Pl. IV., fig. 11).

Portion of a small mortar of chert, circular in shape, with a diameter of 69 mm. (Pl. III., fig. *d* 5). It has clearly been made by hollowing out with a revolving instrument and wet sand. It must have been used for grinding some fairly hard substance in.

Limestone spindle-whorl, diameter 35 mm., rounded above and flat beneath (Pl. III., fig. *d* 3).

Half a slate palette (Pl. III., fig. *b* 14).

Three rounded pebbles of brown stone, of the type used to grind paint on the palettes.

Five natural flints, evidently picked up and preserved for their peculiar form (Pl. III., figs. *b* 13 and 15–18). Freak flints of this type are occasionally found in tombs.[1]

A curious object in limestone (?). Below it shows a broken surface, above it is worked into the form of the valve of a large shell, and the striations on the shell seem to be shown by lines of brown paint running from the apex to the circumference.

Two pieces of malachite.

Unworked agates and carnelians.

Numerous crystals of quartz.

Small pebbles of various undetermined materials.

One corner of a worked cubical object in hard dark brown stone, polished on the faces.

Fragments of diorite.

Pieces of red ochre.

III.—*Objects of bone and ivory.*

Several borers made out of small bones sharpened and polished at one end (Pl. III., figs. *a* 12–16). The longest measures 105 mm.

Two fragments of ornamental bone pins (Pl. III., figs. *a* 7 and 8), of types known from tombs.

Two bone polishers, perhaps used in pottery making, one spatulate and the other bluntly pointed (Pl. III., figs. *a* 3 and 5).

One fragment of bone inlay (?) (Pl. III., fig. *a* 6).

Fragment of a fine bone or ivory spindle-whorl, shaped like a segment of a sphere (Pl. III., fig. *b* 6).

Portion of a tatting needle. Present length 80 mm.

Broken arrow-head of ivory, of the type found in tombs of the Ist Dynasty (cf. Pl. X., fig. 3).

IV.—*Pottery.*

The pottery found in this settlement has given us important information as to the wares used in everyday life by predynastic man. For the classification the discussion at the end of this chapter should be consulted. As has been stated already, ninety-nine per cent. of the sherds were of the coarse kind, Class D. Among the forms which it was possible to reconstruct were

Fig. 2. Two views of painted potsherd. Scale ½.

R 1 *c*, 22 *a*, 22 *b*, 23 *b*, and 65 *c*. There were many fragments of both polished red and black-topped wares, but they were very small and no forms could be reconstructed with certainty. Of decorated ware there were about a dozen fragments of well-known types, one or two showing the spiral design. With them may be classed two fragments of small bowls of rather rougher clay than is usual in the decorated class. One was ornamented on the inside with spots of reddish paint, and the other had similar spots within and a lattice pattern in dark red on the outside of the rim (fig. 2). These examples serve to show us that the painting of vases was not confined to the better examples which we find in the tombs.

Among the plain wares were noticeable a large number of fragments of the bowls of fine

[1] Cf. Garstang, *op. cit.*, Pl. v.

clay generally classed as Late Ware. These occurred in both the pink and the grey clay (C 3 *a* and *b* of our classification). In some cases they had inside the ordinary late plum-coloured haematite polish, but more often they were quite plain or had a little haematite rubbed in at the rim only.

Of the rarer forms F 51 *a* was found.

Besides the vases there were certain other objects made of pottery. The most striking of these were the cakes of lightly baked coarse clay, of which portions of at least a dozen were found. In form they are either circular (Pl. III., fig. *d* 7, diameter 90 mm.) or elliptical (Pl. III., fig. *d* 6, 115 by 80 mm.). The clay is about 15 mm. in thickness. There is nothing to show what the purpose of these cakes was.

Certain rounded potsherds pierced in the centre may have served as spindle-whorls or loom-weights, or even as pendants for wearing (Pl. III., figs. *b* 9–11). One sherd, elliptical in shape, has four holes (Pl. III., fig. *b* 12). A fifth hole has been begun but never finished.

Some other objects of clay have been described by Mr. Droop, whose description I quote *in extenso*:—

(*a*) A clay sealing.

One of the most interesting objects found in the settlement was a slab of clay measuring 58 by 43 by 13 mm., rudely triangular, bearing on one side three, on the other side four (one crossing the other three) impressions of the same cylindrical seal (fig. 3). The impression shows five signs, the order of which from right to left is a six-rayed star, a bird with a long downward pointing beak, resembling a pelican, a couchant animal with long neck, snout and ears, meant probably for a jackal, a standing beast with apparently six legs and two upstanding ears or horns, which should probably be interpreted as the tusks of an elephant, the two extra legs being in reality the trunk and tail, and another bird with a long horizontal beak and a crest projecting behind the head.[1] There is an indication as of something held in the beak. Both the birds have a long foot turned upwards.

The two sides of the clay slab were pressed together over the string, the join being clearly visible in places on the edge,

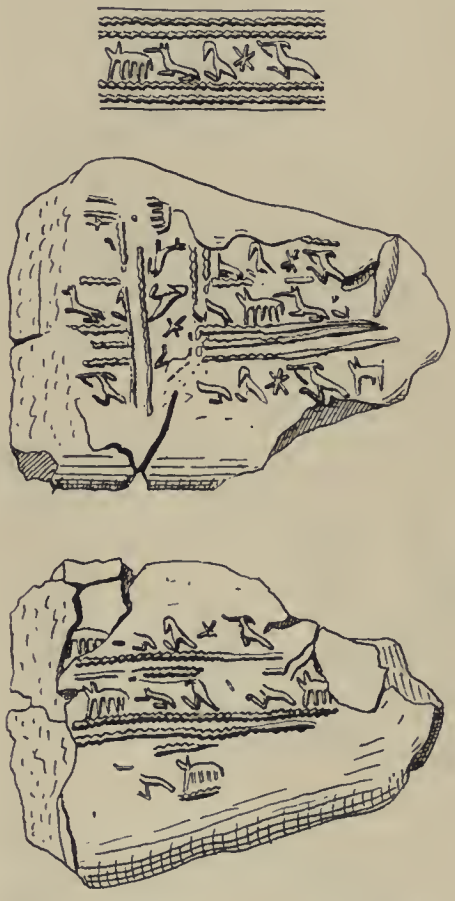

Fig. 3. Impressions on mud of a cylinder seal. Restoration above. Scale ½.

but there is no certain mark left by the string.

(*b*) Head of dog (?).

The only fragment of a figurine found in the settlement was the head and neck of a

[1] Processions of animals are not uncommon in early Egyptian sealings and other objects. See for example the sealings *Royal Tombs* II., Pl. xiv. 104, and xv. 113. Also the famous gold knife handle and the ivory knife handle and comb, Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, figs. 33, 35, 44 and 45.

dog or jackal (Pl. III., fig. *a* 1). Both ears are missing. The neck is very flat, being rectangular in section. The mouth is marked by an incision at the end of the long snout, the nostrils are shown by two holes in the upper lip, while the under lip is pierced transversely. The eyes are hollowed, but the left eye has a raised dot to represent the pupil, which is absent in the right. The dimensions of the head are 36 by 15 mm.

(*c*) Label (?).

A fragmentary lump of clay with one corner pinched into a lug and pierced for suspension. On one side, by the broken edge, are two lines, perhaps part of a rough impressed design. The object was probably a label. Greatest measurement 50 mm. (Pl. III., fig. *a* 9).

(*d*) Shapeless lumps.

Two rudely cylindrical lumps, dimensions 45 by 20 mm. and 43 by 15 mm.

One conical lump (Pl. III., fig. *a* 10), not pierced, height 47 mm., diameter of base 22 mm.

Tip of a flat tongue of clay, broken: dimensions 23 by 10 by 3 mm.

V.—*Miscellaneous Objects.*

Various implements of copper; two small chisels (Pl. III., figs. *b* 1 and 5), lengths 80 and 37 mm. respectively; two fish-hooks, a metal ring and some fragments (Pl. III. *b*).

Two small spherical balls of white glaze (Pl. III., figs. *b* 7 and 8), and a short cylindrical piece of the same.

Beads of blue glaze, and of carnelian and other stones, all discoid in form, except two which are flattened spherical.

VI.—*Bones.*

The bones found were examined by Miss K. Haddon of the Zoological Laboratories, Cambridge, who has very kindly furnished the following report on them.

(*a*) Oxen.

Most of the fragments of bones belong to large oxen, probably specimens of *Bos Africanus*. The heel bones are intermediate in size between those of the bison and the modern bull. The same is true of the hoof bones, though the largest is about the size of that of the extinct Urus.

(*b*) Sheep.

Lortet and Gaillard distinguish two races in Egypt, *Ovis palaeoaegypticus* and *Ovis platyura aegyptiaca*, which differ in the form of the horns. I am inclined to think that the Abydos examples belong to the former species, as the horn bones show signs of spiral twisting. As, however, these horns are fragmentary and not attached to the skulls, they may belong to goats. Some of the jaw-bones are undoubtedly those of sheep, judging by the teeth. They belonged to large individuals.

The bones found in a vase in Tomb E 481 are those of a small sheep, corresponding almost exactly in size to those of the Soay sheep from St. Kilda, but as the individual is obviously young the species cannot be determined.

(*c*) Goat.

The bones found in Tomb E 4181 are the horns and lower jaw of a goat, corresponding in size to those of *Hircus mambricus* (Lortet and Gaillard). This jaw is several millimetres longer than that of the modern goat, and this difference in size is borne out by comparing the measurements of modern goats with those given by Lortet and Gaillard. In all cases the Egyptian goats are larger than the modern.

(*d*) Ass or zebra.

Two small hoof-bones and one upper incisor belong to one of these two genera.[1]

[1] If these belong to the ass, they are the first predynastic examples found.

(*e*) Cat.

Part of mandible of *Felis maniculata*, an animal of the same size as a small modern domesticated cat.

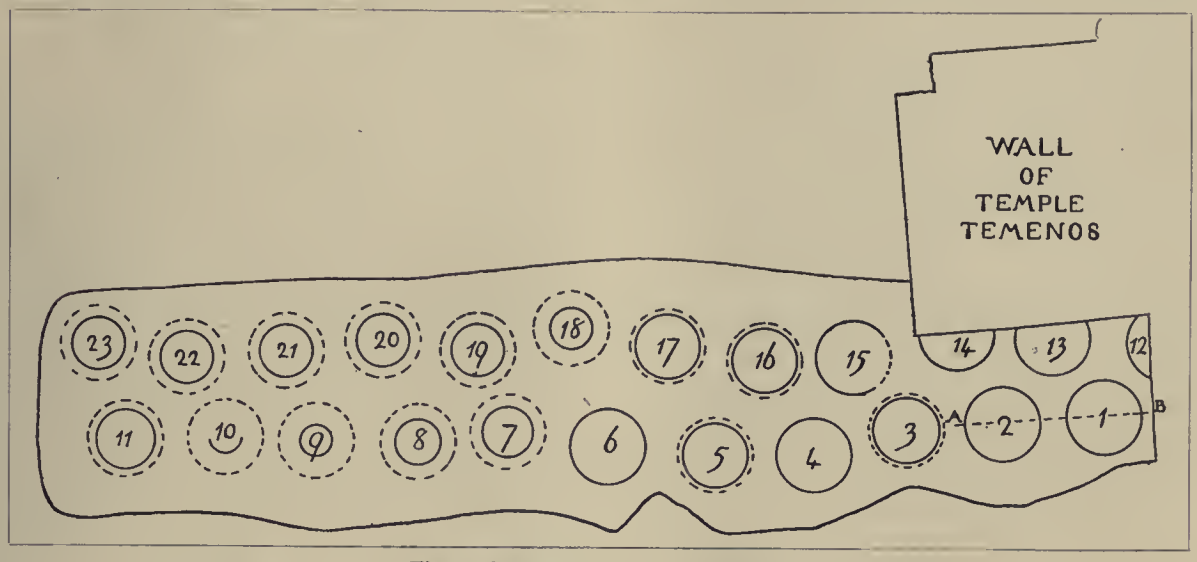

Fig. 4. Plan of grain kiln. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

(*f*) Dog.

Portion of mandible of a dog of the same size as the modern Egyptian pariah. Metatarsal of a smaller specimen, or possibly of a fox.

(*g*) Small rodent.

One incisor of a rodent smaller than a rat and larger than a mouse; about the size of a jerboa.

(*h*) Gazelle (?).

Among a number of small horns, some of which certainly belong to goats, is one which is straight and might be that of a young gazelle.

(*k*) Fish.

Osseous plates of head and numerous spines of pectoral fins of a siluroid, *Synodontes* (sp. *Schal*?). Also anterior vertebra of a much larger fish (? *Lates Niloticus*).

The Grain Kiln.

On the north-east edge of the settlement was one of the remarkable grain kilns of which several were found in 1912–13 and described in *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III., pp. 1 ff. As this was rather more complicated in form it deserves a few words of separate description, though it will be assumed that the reader is familiar with the description of the other examples.

The kiln was in a moderate state of preservation. It ran parallel to the edge of cultivation, i.e., true N.N.W.–S.S.E. Its northern part had been slightly damaged by the temenos-wall of the temple, which here lay directly over it. The

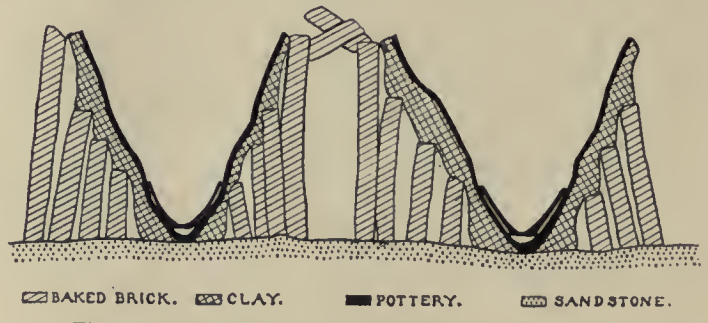

Fig. 5. Section through AB of grain kiln. Scale $\frac{1}{30}$.

structure consisted of twenty-three large vases, arranged in two alternating rows of eleven and twelve (see fig. 4). Each vase rested below on the hard virgin sand, and was supported all round by fire-brieks placed on end, with a slight slant inwards (fig. 5, and Pl. I., fig. 8). These, which were triangular in section with

rounded apex, were made in four lengths, and arranged round the vase in four circles, but did not actually touch it with their upper ends, as each vase was coated beneath with a layer of clay 4–8 cm. thick, against which the ends of the bricks rested. Around the kiln ran a very rough wall of oblong bricks, enclosing the whole in a long rectangle. Dimensions 1490 × 300 cm. The space between each vase and its neighbours was left hollow below, but was closed at the top with bricks and clay. Thus the kiln, viewed from above, appears as a solid rectangular clay-paved area, with twenty-three circular pits in it. From the position of the masses of charred logs found it seems clear that the fire burned between the outer wall and the vases, and that the heat circulated freely among the supporting fire-bricks.

The shape of the vases is best seen in the section fig. 5. The sizes varied a little, but the average diameter was 90 cm. and the average depth 90 cm. Fixed tightly in the bottom of each vase was a bowl of the form shown in Pl. I., fig. 6. On the outside of this was the figure of a crested bird, roughly incised while the clay was still wet (fig. 6). In several cases a second vase of exactly similar shape was found underneath the first, which of course fitted tightly into it.

Date of the kiln.

As to the period of this kiln there can fortunately be no doubt. The pottery is characterized by every feature typical of the rougher predynastic wares. It shows the same coarse grey paste, the same rough yellow surface, with imprints of short pieces of straw mixed with the clay in the same quantities that distinguish the rough predynastic pottery from all others. The birds incised on the vases are thoroughly in the predynastic style.

It may, in fact, be regarded as beyond all doubt that the kiln was connected with the settlement on whose edge it was found. This is borne out by the fact that in two other predynastic settlements, found at Mahasna and at Ballas, there occurred remains of similar kilns, though their ruined condition did not allow their finders to discover their true nature and purpose. That the kilns were built in order to keep large

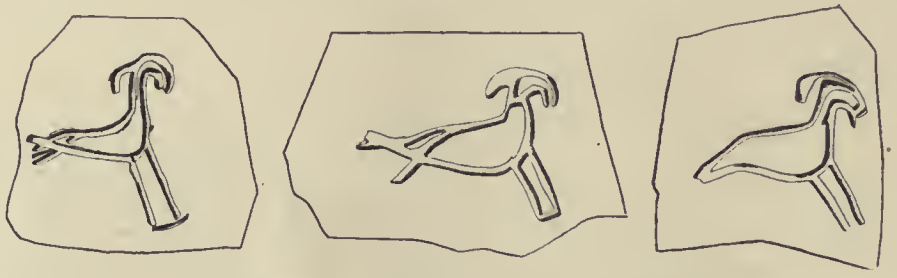

Fig. 6. Birds incised on bowls from the kiln. Scale ⅓.

quantities of wheat at a moderate temperature for some time is proved by the discoveries in the D group of kilns at Abydos. The purpose of this roasting or parching of wheat was probably to improve its keeping qualities or to render it easier to grind. These questions, however, have been fully discussed in *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III.[1] Here we may confine ourselves to a few interesting points of resemblance and difference between this kiln and those of the D group.

Comparisons with other kilns.

The first important difference is that, whereas the D kilns all run east and west by river reckoning, the present kiln runs north and south. But, as the reasons which determined

[1] See pp. 3–6.

the direction in which these kilns were built are unknown to us, we cannot even say whether the difference is more than fortuitous. In the second place, the jars here are rather larger than any of those in the D kilns, and they are supported by four concentric rings of fire-bars instead of by only one. The presence of so much stronger a support may indeed be due simply to the larger size of the jars. Thirdly, the heat in the present kiln was certainly greater than in any of the others. This is clearly seen from an examination of the fire-bars and clay coating of the jars, which are here often burnt to a bright red penetrating some distance into the clay, whereas in the D group we find no signs of so considerable a temperature. But this higher temperature does not necessarily mean that the wheat was subjected to greater heat, for the heat had here greater difficulty in penetrating to the contents of the jars, owing to the closeness of the fire-bars and the thickness of the outer clay coating. To the desire to moderate the heat in the jars may perhaps be attributed the doubling of the bowls in the bottom of the jars, a feature never observed at D. Other small points of difference in this kiln are the use of much thicker logs of wood for fuel, the incision on the small bowls of a crested bird, and the occurrence in the rims of the large jars of small triangular notches at regular distances of 7 cm. The absence of these in the D kilns may, however, be due to the fact that the rims have been triturated away in all cases.

In general structure the present kiln resembles the D group closely. In both we have the same long rectangular form, and the slight telescoping of the two lines of vases in order to gain compactness. The curving over of the upper courses of the surrounding walls to form a roof, so clearly observed in the D group, is here not found owing to the damaged state of the remains; but *vice versa* there are here considerable remnants of the portions of roofing in between the jars, which at D had quite disappeared. These small spaces seem to have been roofed in quite a rough and ready manner with bricks and mud laid flat. It is difficult to see how this flat roofing was supported. Perhaps it was placed on a framework of stout sticks laid from rim to rim (the notches might have kept such sticks in place) and allowed to dry in the sun, so that it was caked hard before the firing began.

Here, as at D, the inner face of the jars was covered with a thin coating of fine clay containing much chopped straw.[1] The purpose of this is unknown; perhaps it served, like the outer coating, to temper the heat in the jars. Here, too, was found the same organic matter between the bowls and the jars, and also between the two bowls themselves. The carbonized remains of wheat which gave the clue to the purpose of the D kilns were not found here.

General Considerations.

The settlement certainly belongs to the latter part of the predynastic period, though there is nothing in it which necessarily points to the Ist Dynasty. The date is fixed by the technique of of the pottery. Much of the red polished ware is of the late plum-coloured type, and the bowls of so-called Late Ware, with or without the haematite slip and polish, are common. With

[1] Mr. Robert Mond has very kindly analyzed this clay coating and also the organic matter from between the jars and the bowls, which we may call substances *a* and *b*. The following are the results:—

(*a*)		(*b*)	
SiO_2	59·60%	SiO_2	3·90%
AlO_3	17·20	Al_2O_3	2·86
Fe_2O_3	5·60	P_2O_5	0·34
P_2O_5	1·07	CaO	7·10
Cl	0·80	MgO	1·25
Na	0·54	Moisture	6·88
MgO	1·60	Loss on ignition	77·12
CaO	3·76		
Moisture	2·80	Total C	40·66
Loss on ignition	6·84	N	3·50

Substance *a* is therefore a clay of fairly ordinary type, while substance *b* is mainly carbonized organic matter with no identifiable structure, mixed with a small percentage of clay.

this late date the use of copper for fine chisels and for fish-hooks would agree.

It is not easy to say how far back the settlement extends. The pottery is so broken that it gives no forms by which to judge, and the complete absence of Cross Line Ware, which in a large cemetery would rather tell against the assumption of an early date in the predynastic era, is virtually without force in a settlement, especially a small one. The real objection to pushing the origin of the settlement far back is the fact that it was obviously not long lived, and that it was certainly existing in the *late* predynastic period, as we have just seen. The ephemeral nature of the encampment is a legitimate deduction from the comparative scantiness of the remains and the thinness of the archaeological stratum. At the same time, the existence in it of the kiln forbids us to regard it as a mere resting-place of a nomadic tribe, for these people, in order to procure the large grain-crop of which the kiln bears witness, must have owned corn-land in the vicinity, and must therefore have been in some measure tied to the district.

The finds made in the settlement enable us to draw a tolerably complete picture of the life of its inhabitants. That they were agricultural is clear from the presence of the kiln, and is confirmed by the finding of grindstones, though indeed these might have been used to crush wild fruits or seeds as well as cultivated. These people had domesticated the ox, the sheep, the goat, the dog, the cat, and perhaps, too, the ass. They were apparently no longer hunters of big game, for no bones of wild animals were found in the settlement. They were as yet, it seems, unaccustomed to the use of mud bricks for building,[1] and their dwellings can have been nothing more than miserable huts built of reeds and covered over with mud plaster. Flint and other stones were worked on the spot. The numerous scrapers may have been used for cleaning the hides of oxen in the preparation of leather. The serrate flints were perhaps set four or five together in sickles. The numbers of fine borers must have been used in some special industry carried on in the settlement: their small size suggests that they were not held in the hand but set in wood. It is just possible that they were set many together in a board at regular intervals, and so used for carding wool or for some very similar process. The presence of fish-hooks and of bones of two Nile fish needs no comment.

[1] Though they were used in the kiln.

The Classification of Predynastic Pottery.

The minute examination of the pottery from the settlement, together with that found in cemeteries U and E,[1] seems to show certain difficulties and weaknesses in the classification at present in vogue.[2] The great fault of the present system is that it involves a multiple basis of division. This is clear from the names of two of its classes, "Rough Ware" and "Late Ware." A classification of pottery must, to be scientific, employ only one method of division, and this must be based on the appearance and make of the vases. Yet "Late Ware" includes a number of forms which are, in material, exactly similar to those classed under "Rough Ware," but are of a later date.[3] Other examples of "Late Ware" are red polished, and, though they may differ in form and colour from the vases classed under P, cannot logically be excluded from that class as long as it exists. Moreover, certain others of these "Late Wares" are so coarse that they naturally fall into Class R

[1] See below, Chapters II. and III.

[2] I have no desire to depreciate the value of Professor Petrie's classification of predynastic pottery, which is one of the greatest of the many services he has rendered to Egyptology. Nevertheless, the material which excavation has placed at our disposal since the time when his classification was made now renders a more scientific arrangement possible.

[3] See Petrie's own definition of the class, *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 41; *Diospolis Parva*, p. 17.

("Rough Ware"). Finally the class "Fancy Forms" involves a third principle of division, that of shape. In the classification here proposed[1] these peculiar forms would be divided up among the other classes according to their material.

It is hardly necessary to remark that all the predynastic wares, both fine and coarse, are hand-made.

Class A. Wares which have a reddish haematite slip. The clay is usually reddish in fracture and well fired throughout. In a few cases where the firing has been less complete the fracture shows a grey streak in the centre. The slip is in many cases so thinly put on that it is barely possible to be certain of its presence, especially in the polished examples. In the unpolished examples the slip clearly reveals itself by its darker colour.[2] This ware may be divided into five sub-classes.

1. Bright red unpolished.

   This ware is only known to me from a few examples found in the predynastic settlement. It has a rather uneven surface, and is somewhat rougher than sub-class 2 would be without its polish.

2. Bright red polished.

   This is the ware known as P.

3. Bright red polished with a black top.[3]

   This seems to differ from 2 merely in the method of its firing. The supposed processes are too well known to need description. The fracture of the clay behind the black parts of the surface varies much. Sometimes the black colour is confined to the surface, but in other cases it almost penetrates the clay, especially in the case of open bowls black inside and red outside.

4. Red polished ware with painted designs in a thick matt creamy white paint ("Cross Line Ware").

   In a few rare cases this white decoration is applied to red polished vases with the black top. There was one example in the U cemetery (U 13), and there are several in the Cairo Museum and elsewhere.

5. Plum-coloured unpolished.

   This and the next class make their first appearance in the late predynastic period, replacing classes 1 and 2. The clay is apt to be lighter and less red, and inclines toward that of Class C below, while the slip colour appears to have a tinge of blue in it. The most common forms in this class are the open bowls formerly classed as L 12–19.[4] The slip covers the inside, but on the outside often extends but little below the rim. The bowls are well smoothed where the slip is to be applied, but the lower part of the outside is often quite roughly trimmed with a sharp implement. When the slip is omitted entirely these bowls fall under Class C 3.

6. Plum-coloured polished.

   This is Class 4 with the addition of a polish, which is seldom very high. The forms are partly those classed as P, partly the bowls L 12–19.

Class B. Black ware[5] with more or less polish, and incised designs often (originally

[1] Made by Mr. Droop and myself in collaboration. Note that these faults in Petrie's classification do not in any way affect the value of his sequence dating, which, if judiciously applied, gives a good rough criterion of relative date.

[2] In a polished vase the fact that the surface is darker than the fracture does not prove the presence of a slip, for the very process of polishing almost always darkens the surface colour.

[3] The two varieties, fine and coarse, of black-topped ware found in tombs of the XIIIth to XVIIth Dynasties at first sight bear a considerable resemblance to this early ware, but on examination are clearly seen to be very different both in texture and in the forms which they take. No serious student of pottery is likely to confuse the ware of the two periods (see below, pp. 66–7).

[4] See *Naqada and Ballas*, Pl. xxxix.

[5] This ware has, so far as I know, not been analyzed. The black surface may be the magnetic oxide of iron.

perhaps always) filled with a white substance. White incised ware of similar types occurs in almost every part of the Mediterranean, and indeed elsewhere, at the most divergent dates. There is no reason for supposing that this ware in Egypt has an Aegaean origin. It is perhaps connected with the similar wares of Nubia and the Soudan, but we have no proof that it was not made in Egypt itself.

With it are probably to be classed the small plain black polished bowls which occasionally occur in predynastic tombs.

Class C. Wares with a smooth surface and often a slip of ordinary fine clay. These belong to the difficult class of pottery in which it is almost impossible to say whether there is or is not a slip. The final smoothing over of the surface by the hand of the potter, probably dipped in water for the purpose, often gives the impression that a separate slip of finer clay has been applied where this is not really the case. The clay is less red than in Class A, the colour being pink or buff, often inclining to grey.[1] It is far purer than in Class D; straw is entirely absent and the white particles are minute. The best pink examples are practically of the same clay as the haematite wares, especially those of Class A 4. The surface varies in hardness, being hardest in the light grey ware 3 *b* below, and usually softer in the buff and pink wares. The sub-classes are as follows:—

1. Decorated ware, unpolished, with or without a slip.

   The clay is pink or buff, and the well-known designs are laid on in a paint which appears to be the same as the slip material of the haematite wares.

2. Wavy-handled ware.

   The clay is pink, buff or even greyish, and does not seem distinguishable from that of 1.[2] In some cases it is clearly covered with a thick white powdery coating, which easily rubs off and may well have been put on after firing.

   In rare cases there is simple painted decoration in the technique of 1 above.

3. Unornamented ware without handles.

   This includes a large number of the forms usually classed as L and R. Thus the types L 40 and R 53–57 are almost always found in this material, while others, such as R 45 and 46, seem to occur both in this and in the coarse ware D. The bowls L 12–19 are often of Type *a* (below) in this ware, though frequently the red slip and polish are added and they have then to be classed as A 5. These unornamented smooth wares are inclined to be late, though the decorated and wavy-handled types, which are probably of exactly the same material, begin comparatively early.

   There are two sub-classes, according to the material used.

   (*a*) Pink or buff clay, usually with a soft surface.

   (*b*) Grey clay, with a hard brittle-looking surface. In this material I know of no forms except some of the bowls usually classed as "Late." The vases are often smoothed inside and at the top outside, while the rest of the outside surface is rough trimmed.

Class D. Coarse ware with a rough surface and without slip.

The clay is impure and contains white granules, probably of limestone, purposely introduced to prevent cracking in the firing. It is also full of short particles of straw. The surface is buff or reddish and is not smoothed in any way. In fracture the clay is greyish black where the firing has been light, as it often is, and buff or reddish in the better fired examples.

[1] It seems to correspond to Reisner's material *c* at Naga-ed-Dêr.

[2] Petrie had noted this: *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 40.

This class includes almost the whole of the old class R and a great portion of L. Certain vases of this latter class, particularly the large jars such as L 30, 31, 32 and 33 (cf. Pl. I., fig. 10, outer vases), are invariably in the coarse technique. Conversely, another large type, L 36, is invariably made of material C 3 *a* (Pl. I., fig. 10, centre). Similarly in the old R class, R 53, 54, 55, 56, 57 are generally, if not always, in the finer material, while R 45 and 46 occur indifferently in either. Pl. IV., fig. 8, gives a clear idea of the difference in appearance between classes C and D. The two inner vases are of smooth ware, the two outer of rough.

CHAPTER II.

THE PREDYNASTIC CEMETERY U.

The Royal Tombs of the Ist and IInd Dynasties lie, as is well known, on a low rise in the desert known as Umm el Qa'âb. From this there runs off to the north a wide arm ending in what has been called Heqreshu Hill. This arm is the site of a predynastic cemetery which was apparently dug some years ago. The digging, however, was very carelessly done, and the excavators did not even trouble to open the smaller graves.

It was in carrying out some tests to discover the nature of the virgin soil in the vicinity of Umm el Qa'âb that we came upon the untouched predynastic burial U 1. This suggested the advisability of putting a small number of men to work on this site, which was accordingly done. In all we discovered thirty-two graves, most of which were intact. Unfortunately most of these were small tombs, which lay in between the larger ones already excavated.

The graves were circular, oval, or roughly rectangular pits in the hard sand, usually about 100 to 150 cm. deep. The body lay almost invariably in the same position, tightly contracted, with the knees well above the level of the hips, on the left side, with the head to the south. It was in nearly all cases covered with a reed mat. In one case there had been wooden boards around it, and in two others a coffin of coarse red pottery still remained.

One case (U 1) occurred in which the body may have been dismembered before burial. The bones were gathered into a rectangular heap rising slightly from the south, where lay the head, to the north (Pl. II., fig. 5). Of the two femora one lay with its head to the north, the other in the converse position. The pelvis bones lay one above the other between the femora, while the sacrum was over the right femur. An ankle-bone and several ribs were scattered above the heap and the arm-bones were beneath. The careful heaping of the bones into so small a space, and the fact that the grave would barely have held even a contracted body, seem to show that this was the original arrangement and to preclude any theory of later disturbance.

Date of the Cemetery.

It is difficult to determine the date in the predynastic series of a cemetery of which so few tombs were excavated and these few all of the smaller type. Nevertheless, it is clear that some of the tombs must be placed moderately early in the series, for we have examples both of cross line and of black incised ware,[1] both of which disappeared at a comparatively early period. The occurrence of a tomb with boards round the body need not point to a date later than Sequence Date 50–60.[2] Our latest tomb is perhaps U 22, with its pottery coffin and two latish vases, L 7 *d* (rough) and a thin type of L 40. We may therefore safely say that the tombs excavated extend from early predynastic (not necessarily *earliest* predynastic) times almost up to the beginning of the Ist Dynasty. The frequency of bricks lying about the site makes it

[1] One piece only, found on the surface.

[2] Ayrton and Loat, *El Mahasna*, pp. 21–23.

probable that some of the previously excavated tombs had been brick-lined, and thus perhaps belonged to the Ist Dynasty.

Contents of the Tombs.

In the contents of the graves there was nothing very remarkable. The pottery was mainly of the black-topped kind (A 3), red polished ware (A 2 and 6) being far less common except for bowls. Decorated ware (C 1) was absent, cross-line (A 4) was rare, and wavy-handled vases (C 2) occurred only in a few of the larger graves. A remarkable vase is that shown in Pl. IV., fig. 3, which is a black-topped jar ornamented in the white cross-line style. Examples in which the white decoration is laid on any but a plain red polished vase are rather rare. Another interesting piece is the anthropomorphic vase in red polished ware (Pl. IV., fig. 10), which was found loose in the sand. But the finest of all is that shown Pl. IV., figs. 1 and 2,[1] which is a red polished vase with designs in matt white. In one half is a crocodile, and below that what is apparently a boat. In the other half are two men, each with wig and loin-cloth. The zig-zags suggest, from their resemblance to the hieroglyph *mw*, that they may be intended for water, but it is equally possible that they have here a merely decorative value. Another fine vase of cross-line ware[1] is shown on Pl. IV., figs. 4 and 5.

Few objects of stone were found, though from the fragments lying in the surface sand it is clear that really fine stone vases were not uncommon in this cemetery. Tomb U 1 gave a hanging vase (Pl. XXVII.) in blackish grey stone, with a very small foot. There were three mace-heads, one of disc type (Pl. XXVII.), badly chipped in antiquity, one pear-shaped, and the third merely a round smooth stone pierced with a hole. There was a small rough flake of obsidian in U 2.

[1] Found in loose sand near the surface.

Description of the Graves.

The most important graves are here described. The type numbers are taken from the *Naqada*, *Diospolis Parva*, *El Amrah* and *Mahasna* volumes:—

U 1. Oval pit (see Pl. II., fig. 5). Body male, dismembered (?, see above), head south, remains of mat. Vases B 22 *b*, B 22 *f*; stone vase H 72 (Pl. XXVII.); stone mace-head (Pl. XXVII.) under head.

U 7. Pit of indeterminable shape and size. Plundered. Red pottery coffin (Pl. I., fig. 1), 114 × 53 × 28 cm., ends slightly convex. Body removed. In the coffin were thirteen barrel beads of wood (?) covered with gold foil, and four pieces of malachite.

U 8. Oval pit, 150 × 100 × 120 cm. Body female, contracted, on left side, head south; wrapped in skin and covered with mat. Vases B 11 *b* and B 18 *c* in front of face.

U 9. Small oval pit. Body male, very tightly contracted, on right side, head south. Head turned with the face upwards; body covered with mat (Pl. II., fig. 2). Vase B 22 *b* behind head.

U 10. Rough oval pit. Body contracted, on left side, head south; surrounded by four boards, possibly joined up to form a coffin, though no sign of lid or bottom was met with. Signs of cloth wrapping. Vases B 11 *f*, B 75 *a*, B 74 *a*. Pebble and pieces of malachite in front of face, ox ribs to west of coffin.

U 11. Large roughly oval pit, 150 cm. deep. Male body covered with mat; contracted, on left side, head south. Vases P 1 *a*, P 66, P 17, B 29 *a*, B 22 *b*, B 19 *a*. Two mud figures, one of a quadruped and the other indeterminable (Pl. IV., fig. 7).

U 13. Oval pit. Body of child, wrapped first in cloth, then in a skin, covered with a mat,

and finally with loose reeds; contracted, on left side, head south. Vases B 1 *a*, B 22 *f*, B 27 *d* with white cross-line ornament (Pl. IV., fig. 3), B 18 *d*, F 96 *b*; an ivory pin, an ivory ring, pieces of malachite, and necklace of rough stone beads, discoid and tubular, with two shapeless carnelian pendants.

U 14. Small oval pit. Body contracted, on left side, head south, male, wrapped in a mat. Vase B 18 *d* in front of face (Pl. II., fig. 1).

U 15. Small oval pit, 100 × 50 × 100 cm. Male body, contracted, on left side, head south, wrapped in a skin and covered with a mat. In front of face the vase B 18 *d*, containing the leg-bones of a goat (?).

U 16. Oval pit. Body contracted, on left side, under a mat, head south. Vases B 27 *g*, B 21 *a*, B 22 *f*, P 17, and the P vase with handles shown in Pl. XXVII. At the foot of the grave were bones of some animal, probably a goat.

U 17. Partly plundered, bones in complete disorder. Shape of pit uncertain. Vases R 84 and W 83 (eight examples); pear-shaped mace-head and six minute flint razors; pieces of gold foil, some of them fluted; barrel beads of wood (or bone?) with gold foil covering.

U 19. Body of a young female, contracted, under a mat, head south, in an oval pit (Pl. II., fig. 3). Vases B 27 *c* (two), and a black-topped vase of shape F 15 containing the leg-bones of a goat (?); ivory comb, pieces of malachite, and a pebble. Before the forearms lay an object of skin now crumpled and deformed; with this were two very small cones of hard mud (heights 25 and 34 mm. respectively), each with a narrow slit in the surface from apex to base. It is possible that the skin object was a bag and these cones the sealings which closed it. They resemble very closely two objects found in Tomb H 41 at El Mahasna, and shown at the right end of the gaming table in *El Mahasna*, Pl. xvii., fig. 1.

U 20. Oval pit. Body of a middle-aged man, under matting, loosely contracted, on left side, with knees slightly below level of thighs, and arms scarcely bent, head south (Pl. I., fig. 5). The vases are B 25 *b*, B 27 *f*, P 61. A rough stone pierced as a mace-head lay before the face. At the knees were the remains of some object of lightly-fired clay painted red. But it had been broken to fragments before being placed in the grave, and its form was quite indeterminable. It had been made on a core of coarse string, and may have been a snake.

U 21. Oval pit, badly plundered. Vases B 26 *c*, B 68 *b*, C 26, C 44. Figure of a man in clay, lightly fired, painted red, feet missing (Pl. IV., fig. 6).

U 23. Small pit, completely plundered, except for a piece of a rhomboid slate palette and the double vase of red polished ware (Pl. XXVII.).

U 24. Male body, contracted, on left side, head south, covered with a mat. In front of the hands a vase B 22 *b*.

U 25. Badly disturbed. Two rough flints and the vases B 35 *d*, B 47, B 74 *a*, and P 34 *c*.

U 26. Oval pit (Pl. II., fig. 6). Body, female, contracted, on left side, head south. Vases B 11 *f*, B 27 *c*; slate palette (half only) and two ivory horns (Pl. IV., fig. 9).

U 28. Shapeless pit. Body tightly contracted, almost supine, and slightly on the left side, head south. Knees drawn up over chest (Pl. I., fig. 2).

U 29. Oval pit. Male body, contracted, on left side, head south. Covered with a mat. Before face a vase B 22 *b*.

U 30. Similar to 29, except that the vase is B 19 *a* (Pl. I., fig. 3).

U 31. Small pit. Shape indeterminable. Body of child, contracted, on left side, head south, wrapped in cloth and matting. Vases B 18 *b*, P 22. Three ivory bracelets on left forearm (Pl. II., fig. 4). Small annular carnelian beads at the neck.

U 32. Small circular pit. Child, contracted, on left side, head south. Before face a vase B 21 *b*.

CHAPTER III.

CEMETERY E.

Cemetery E lies on the low mounds immediately to the south of the dry watercourse which divides the site into two halves. It was first excavated in the season 1909–1910, and the details of that year's work in the cemetery, as recorded by Mr. J. A. Dixon and myself, will appear in a chapter of a forthcoming volume entitled *Cemeteries of Abydos*, I. The purpose of the present chapter is to describe the further excavations made there at the beginning of the season 1911–12, and to discuss the bearing of these on the problems previously raised by the cemetery. Fig. 7 shows the position of the tombs excavated 1911–12. The blank central portion was cleared in the earlier excavations.

Fig. 7. Plan of part of Cemetery E. Scale $\frac{1}{300}$.

The cemetery contains four distinct types of tomb :—

I. Shallow predynastic graves, containing *tightly* contracted bodies.

II. Shaft tombs, with or without chambers, containing either extended or *loosely* contracted bodies.

III. (*a*) A few *loosely* contracted burials in the surface sand.

(*b*) Various extended burials in the surface sand.

IV. A number of large vaulted structures of mud brick.

The dates of these types will be discussed later. For the moment we give in brief the results of the discussion. The tombs of Type I. are mainly earlier than the Ist Dynasty, though a few come down to the border line. The shaft tombs of Type II. date from about the VIth Dynasty. Some might be a little earlier, others are perhaps a little later. Burials of Type III. *a*, of which there are very few, are of the same date as the shafts. In Type III. *b* there is great variety, the dated examples extending from the XVIIIth Dynasty to Roman times. Type IV. includes tombs of late dynastic and Ptolemaic times.

Type I.—Predynastic Tombs.

It had been noticed in the work of 1909–10 that the predynastic tombs furthest to the east and south were the latest. One of the main objects in continuing the work in this cemetery in the following season was to find, if possible, the tombs of the Ist Dynasty to which these later burials ought naturally to lead up. This object was not achieved, for the early tombs in this part of the cemetery became so scattered, and had been so destroyed by the making of the late brick vaults, that further work in this direction was out of the question. Nevertheless, seventeen predynastic tombs were excavated. All are cut through the surface sand into the rock beneath. They are as a whole later in date than those dug in the previous season. Thus the circular and the small elliptical types of tomb do not occur among them. Eleven were rectangular, sometimes with rounded corners, four were elliptical, and in two the shape was indeterminable. Only one, 4580, had the ledge so common in the tombs dug in the previous season. In two cases, 414 and 4191, there were distinct traces of a wooden roof plastered over with mud; but later disturbances had made any determination of the exact form impossible. The tombs all lay with their longer axis north and south by river reckoning (true N.N.W.–S.S.E.). The body was in all cases tightly contracted, on the left side, with the head south. In two tombs it had been covered with a reed mat, vestiges of which still remained. In two other tombs the body was surrounded by four wooden boards placed so as to form the sides of a box, but apparently not joined together at the corners, and without either lid or bottom.[1] In 481 there was a wooden board beneath the body.

The complete catalogue of these tombs is as follows (new pottery types, Pl. XXVII.):—

4033. Rectangular, with rounded corners. Head and arms removed. Pottery L 30 *b* (seven examples), R 24 *b*, W 41, P 23 *b* (late plum-coloured polished ware).[2]

4034. Rectangular. Upper part of body removed. At the north end of the grave vases L 30 *d* (nine), L 30 *e*, and R 42 *b*. At the south end vases W 43 (four), P 45 *a*, type P 23 *c* with no slip or polish, L 19 *d* (plum-coloured polished ware),[2] R 24, R 65 *c*, L 20 *b*, L 40. The vase P 23 *c* contained a small amount of carbonized organic matter, and near L 19 *d* were the leg-bones of a sheep or goat. In the south-west corner were the remains of a curved object of wood eaten through by white ants. Near the place where the head should have been were some bones of a small child and a few glaze beads. In the sand which filled the tomb was the skull of a sheep or goat.

4043. Rectangular, 150 × 105 cm. Head and arms removed. Pottery R 26, and type W 62 without painted decoration.

414. Rectangular with rounded corners, 110

[1] Cf. Ayrton and Loat, *El Mahasna*, pp. 6, 7.

[2] See the discussion of these wares in Chapter I.

by 70 cm. Plundered. Pottery W 51, W 55, W 61, L 12 *c*, L 29 *b* and L 36 *c*. Remains of a wooden roof covered with mud.

4181. Rectangular. Plundered. Skull of goat and leg-bones of goat or sheep. Small barrel-shaped carnelian beads, two grinding pebbles and some malachite. Pottery L 16, L 33 *b*, L 33 *c*, L 36 *a*, L 44 *b*.

4191. Rectangular with rounded corners. Dimensions 150 × 50 cm., and 50 deep. The wall of Shaft 419 is built over its edge. Signs of wooden roof covered with mud, in the remains of which lay, at the south end, a rough pottery dish. Body in position. Pottery W 55 (three) at feet, and vase of shape R 36 but of fine smooth ware at hands. Shapeless flake of flint, carnelian bead and a shell.

4343. Elliptical; 125 × 80 × 95 cm. The wall of Shaft 4610 is built directly over its western edge, so that the bricks are actually over the cutting of the surface tomb. Body in position covered with a mat. Blue glaze beads at the neck. Pottery L 30 *b* (four), L 30 *d*, W 43 (five).

4344. Elliptical; dimensions 130 × 60 × 125 cm. Body covered with mat. Pottery L 30 *c* (six), L 40 (two), W 43 (four), R 24 (two), R 69 *c*, P 82 *a*, D 18 *b* (unpainted).

4346. Elliptical; 155 × 90 × 100 cm. Body, female, in position except for left arm. Glaze beads and two bone pins near neck. Vases W 61, R 24, R 26 (two), R 57 *b*, L 30 *c* (two), L 31 *d* and L 40.

4347. Rectangular; lay partially over the underground chamber of Shaft 4342. The fall, through natural causes, of the roof of this chamber caused that part of the predynastic tomb which lay over it to fall about 50 cm. Bones confused. Pottery L 30 *b*, L 30 *d* and R 65 *c*.

4348. Pl. I., fig. 4. Rectangular; 100 × 55 cm. Body in position. Pottery R 65 *c*. This tomb lay so close to the south-east corner of Shaft 4342 that the brick edging of the latter lay intact directly over the legs of the body, and had to be supported by a vertical brick for the purposes of the photograph. It is beyond all possible doubt that the shaft edging is later than the predynastic tomb (see below, p. 25).

4380. Rectangular; 150 × 105 cm. Upper part of body removed. Pottery R 24 (three), W 55, L 12 *c*, L 30 *c* (four).

4381. Almost completely destroyed by late brick vault. Pottery P 98 *c*, W 61, L 30 *c*.

4561. Elliptical; western side cut away by the late brick vault 456. Body of woman, intact, small child near forearms. Fragments of malachite. Pottery W 43 (seven), W 53, R 65 *c*. The tomb lies directly under the late surface grave 4560.

4580. Elliptical; dimensions 150 × 135 × 60 cm. On the western side a raised ledge or step, 85 cm. in width, thus occupying more than half the grave. Body in the deeper part. Head removed. A few discoid blue glaze beads. Pottery P 81 *b*, W 43, W 47, R 24, L 30 *b*, L 30 *e* (three).

481. Rectangular; 160 × 85 cm. Body in usual position and under it a wooden board. Head moved. Copper bracelet of circular section on left forearm. Pottery W 55 (three), W 61, L 31 *f*, L 32 *c*, L 36 *a*. Pieces of a decorated vase in the filling of the pit. A few carnelian beads. In south-east corner the leg-bones of a sheep.

501. Rectangular; 160 × 80 cm. Body as usual. Pottery L 30 *b* (seven), L 16 *b*, L 44 *b*, R 22 *b* (shallow type), R 65 *c*, R 24, W 61 (four).

Type II.—Shaft Tombs.

The shaft tombs are all rectangular in form, and are roughly oriented north and south by river reckoning. They are cut through the upper drift sand down into the soft sandstone to a depth of from four to six metres. Out of a total of thirty-five shafts excavated in this season one was unfinished, thirteen had no chamber

but contained a burial in the shaft itself, nine had a chamber at the north end, and the same number had a chamber at the south end, while in two cases the chamber was under the east side, and in one case under the west. In seventeen tombs the body lay on the left side in a semi-contracted position, that is to say, the legs were bent but not drawn up so far that the thighs made a right angle with the spine, while the position of the arms was variable, they being sometimes sharply bent at the elbow so that the hands were under the chin, sometimes less bent, and sometimes stretched straight out along the sides. This loose contraction, it should be noticed, differs completely from the tight contraction of the predynastic tombs of Type I. In fourteen tombs the body was fully extended, being placed on the back in every example but one, where it lay on the left side. Each body was placed with head to the north, in a wooden coffin of remarkable height, long and narrow when the body was extended, shorter and broader when it was semi-contracted. The chambers were usually a little longer than the coffins, and their sides were in almost every case flush with those of the shaft.

In the season 1909–10, when the first part of this cemetery was excavated, we were unable to find any trace of the superstructures which had presumably existed over some if not all of the shaft tombs. In 1911–12 we were more fortunate, and succeeded in finding two of these buildings quite intact. The simpler of the two lies to the south of Shaft 419 (see plan, fig. 7, and Pl. V., fig. 1). It is nothing more than a solid rectangular mass of mud brick 228 × 75 cm. and 40 cm. high. It was covered all over with mud plaster, which on the west side was continued on to the ground at the foot of the mastaba to form a pavement 30 cm. broad along the whole of that side. Into the opposite side, the east, was built face inwards the stela (fig. 84) of Her-ib. It was made of a rather rough block of limestone smoothed on one face. The figures and inscriptions were rather clumsily incised and afterwards filled in with red paint and outlined with black. The top was badly splintered, and indeed the whole stela threatened to disintegrate, but was saved by paraffin wax. The preservation of the face is entirely due to its having been placed inwards against the bricking, in which a niche had been left for it, so that its back was exactly flush with the face of the mastaba. The style of the stela dates it to an early period, probably the VIth Dynasty. This dating for the mastaba is supported by the fact that the mud pavement on its west side was cut into by the burial of a child's body in a semi-contracted condition in a small wooden coffin (Tomb 4161). This belongs to a well-defined category of tombs in this cemetery, and can hardly be much later than the VIth Dynasty. The mastaba whose pavement it cuts cannot therefore be later than that date. It was impossible to determine to what shaft the mastaba belonged. It stood over the south end of 419, and even extended over part of the shaft of that tomb, which could not be excavated until the mastaba had been removed. It may perhaps belong to this tomb, but unfortunately it does not stand over the chamber, which is to the north. In cemetery S, which is rather later than this, the small mastabas invariably stood over the chamber of the tomb, except when considerations of space made this impracticable. In this case there seems to be no reason why the mastaba of 419 should not have stood over its chamber to the north. It is therefore more probable that the mastaba was connected with Shaft 417, which lay to the west of it and had its chamber to the east, that is to say, under the mastaba. The only objection to this is that the mastaba then stands further to the north than one would have expected. This consideration is, however, not fatal, and in any case the point is but a small one.

The other superstructure discovered is a little more complicated in plan. It lies directly over

the shaft 418. Pl. V., fig. 2 shows its shape very clearly. In plan it is a small hollow rectangle three courses high. In the centre of the east face is an entrance leading to a miniature chamber of the same width as the entrance. Over this is a gabled roof formed by pairs of bricks leaning from either side to meet over the centre line. The two pairs furthest to the east were doubly fixed in place by the laying of other pairs of bricks horizontally on the flat surface of the mastaba in such a way that the eastern half of the mastaba was one course higher than the west. The structure was completed by the addition of a coat of mud plaster, which was laid so thickly over the gable as to give it a rounded instead of a pointed appearance.

There was nothing to date this structure except the fact that it was obviously built after the filling-up of Shaft 418. There is, however, a strong probability that it belongs to the same period as the shafts, and it anticipates a type which is not uncommon among the smallest mastabas of the early XIIth Dynasty cemetery S.[1] Whether it belongs to the shaft over which it stands cannot be determined with certainty.

The following is the description of the shafts. The contractions ext. and cont. stand for extended supine and semi-contracted respectively. The head is always to the north, and there is always a wooden coffin, unless the contrary is stated. The measurements are in centimetres.

4024. Chamber to N. (215 × 85); cont. Three cylindrical glaze beads.

4031. Lies beneath the late vaulted tomb 403. Shaft 205 × 100. Chamber to S. (165 × 80). Ext., male.

4032. Burial in shaft. Cont.

4035. Shaft 210 × 100. Chamber to S., 185 × 70. Cont., female.

4036. Chamber to S. Body ext., hands on pelvis, head outside chamber.

4041. Pl. V., fig. 3. Shaft 250 × 95, depth 110. At north end of shaft a step or ledge 30 high and 30 deep. Body cont., in lower part of shaft.

4042. Shaft 215 × 95. Chamber to S., 180 × 95. Body, male (?), cont.

405. Shaft 250 × 120, its upper part lined to a depth of 75 with bricking plastered on the inside. Chamber to N., 195 long, about twice the length of the coffin. Body, female, cont. Outside the chamber a rough pot of type Pl. XXXII., right-hand top corner.

4051. Shaft 175 × 85. Chamber to S., 155 × 75. Body, male, extended, but contrary to custom lying on the left side.

407. Shaft 185 × 80. Body, female, cont., with hands up to chin. In front of head a portion of a vase of type Pl. XXXII., right-hand top corner.

4071. Shaft 190 × 85, and 180 deep. Body, female, cont. A few blue glaze beads at the neck.

409. Chamber to N. Ext.

410. Chamber to S. Ext., head turned to left. Male.

411. Shaft 200 × 85. Cont. Vase of type Pl. XXXII., right-hand top corner, in shaft.

412. Chamber to S., length 200 cm. Ext.

417. Chamber cut under east side. Ext., head turned to left, hands at sides.

418. Chamber under part of the west side and the north-west corner. Body ext.; copper mirror to left of head, small carnelian discoid beads at neck, and blue glaze tubular and carnelian barrel beads round right wrist.

419. Chamber to N., 115 × 70. Body, male, cont., head protruding from chamber.

423. Remains of coffin in shaft at two metres from top. Body removed.

4240. Rectangular shaft; never finished or used.

4264. Shaft 245 × 105. Chamber to N., 250 × 90. Body ext., hands over front of pelvis.

4265. Chamber to N., 175 long. Body cont., almost supine, with right knee up to lid of coffin.

[1] See below, Chapter IV.

4266. Body, cont., in shaft.

4310. Chamber to S. Two bodies cont. in one coffin, male on east side, female on west. One vase of type Pl. XXXII., R 26, in shaft, and a mud cap from a vase.

4311. Chamber to N. Body cont.; coffin protruding from chamber.

4340. Chamber to S. Coffin empty.

4342. Chamber to N. Body, male, cont.

4351. Chamber to S., 160 × 80. Body ext.

4355. Chamber to S. Body ext., wooden pillow under head.

4390. Shaft 180 × 50. Body ext.

4400. Shaft empty except for vase of type Pl. XXXII., R 26, at bottom.

4401. Beneath the late vault 440. Chamber to N., 185 × 75. Body of child, ext., much too short for chamber.

4571. Chamber under east side and north-east corner of shaft. Cont. Shaft 195 × 90; chamber 190 × 65.

4581. Shaft 190 × 95. Chamber to N., 180 × 80. Ext.

4610. Shaft 163 × 78 and 205 deep. Lined with brick and plaster at the top. Body cont.

In the season 1912–13 eight more shaft tombs, further to the west, were excavated during the progress of the work at the ibis cemetery. These prove that the VIth Dynasty cemetery extends some distance in that direction. The details are as follows :—

701. No chamber. Shaft empty.

702. Chamber to N. Body removed. Remains of wooden coffin containing a copper mirror, a small blue glaze amulet, and blue glaze beads, some consisting of five small spherical beads fastened together to form a tube, and others of flattened barrel form with pieces of light blue frit worked in around the central part. Vase Pl. XXXII., E 702, in shaft.

703. Chamber to N. Body ext.; mirror at feet.

704. Chamber to S. Shaft 219 × 86 × 270 deep. Chamber 215 × 66 × 90 high. Body cont.; traces of cloth on it. On the lid of the coffin a plain wooden pole or staff.

705. Shaft 234 × 86 × 260. Chamber to S., 180 × 76 × 72 high. Body ext.; traces of cloth. Wooden staff on lid of coffin. Vase of type Pl. XXXII., E 702, in shaft.

706. Shaft 230 × 93 × 200. Chamber to S., 148 × 83 × 68 high. Body ext.

707. Shaft 220 × 76 × 210. Body ext., in shaft.

708. Chamber to N. No body found.

Type III. *a*.—Loosely-contracted Burials in the Surface Sand.

The burials of this type are precisely similar to those of the shaft tombs, with the exception that the shaft is here replaced by a shallow rectangular cutting in the drift sand rarely penetrating into the soft rock below, and oriented like the shafts north and south. The body is in all cases loosely contracted, on the left side, and laid with the head north in a short, broad and high wooden coffin, just as in the shafts. From the predynastic tombs (Type I.) these graves are clearly distinguished by the looseness of the contraction, the presence of the coffin, the turning of the head to the north instead of to the south, the absence of all objects typical of the predynastic period, and also by the fact that the tombs are mainly sunk in the drift sand (the greater part of which seems to have accumulated since the predynastic period) instead of being cut down into the soft rock.

The tombs of this type were as follows :—

4052, 4053 and 4054. All three had had their south ends destroyed by the foundations of the late vaulted tomb 521.

408. See Pl. V., fig. 4. Coffin 105 × 50 cm.

4161. Body of child in wooden coffin laid up against the mastaba 416 (see above). A small cutting had been made in the mud paving west of the mastaba, and in this the coffin

had been laid, probably not more than a few centimetres below the surface. The child perhaps belonged to the family who erected the mastaba.

Type III. *b*.—Various Extended Burials in Surface Sand.

This is a very miscellaneous class, and comprises burials of many periods. A few may belong to the shaft period, for, just as in the shafts themselves we had both extended and semi-contracted burials, so also in the surface tombs of the same period we should rather expect to find both positions. The cases of the semi-contracted position we have just described under Type III. *a*, and it is quite possible that a few of the extended burials classed under the present head are of the same date, but in the absence of objects and of any peculiarity of position we are unable to distinguish them from the rest. With these possible exceptions there is nothing under this heading which need be earlier than about XVIIIth Dynasty, to which period a few of the examples found in the former season's work undoubtedly belong.

As a whole this group is of little importance and less interest. The catalogue is as follows. The compass points are by river reckoning, except where stated to be magnetic:—

4020. Child's body, in sand, head east.

4021. Child in wooden coffin, head west. Both this and the last lay over the top of Shaft 4024.

4022. Body in sand, head west, over Shaft 4023.

4037. Body, head magnetic north, in a wooden coffin shaped to the shoulders. The body lay in a thick mass of crystals of natron.

4038. Child in wooden coffin, head magnetic east.

4039. Body in wooden coffin, head east.

4044. Body in wooden coffin shaped to shoulders, head south.

406. Child's body, no coffin or wrappings; head magnetic north, legs slightly bent. Two blue glaze amulets at head.

415. Body in shaped wooden coffin, head west.

4261. Child's body, prone, in wooden coffin, head magnetic north. Small blue glaze beads in two strings at neck.

4263. Child in wooden coffin, head east.

432. Burial of a dog, on right side, head north. No sign of coffin.

433. Body in sand; head, which had been towards south, removed.

4341. Body in sand; head had been to south-west. Head and legs removed; white and dark blue beads at neck.

4560. Child, head west.

4570. Body lying on a board, head west.

4572. Child in wooden coffin; small vase at head, which lies to east. Broken light blue glaze figure of Sekhmet, of good workmanship, and two dark blue and one green glass bead. This tomb breaks into the corner of Shaft 4573.

4611. Body in wooden coffin, head north.

5120. Child in wooden coffin, head magnetic west.

6030. Body in sand, head east.

Unfortunately we were unable to find any further examples of the extended burials in trays made of the midrib of palm-leaves, of which several were excavated in 1909–10. These are certainly later than the shaft tombs (for evidence see E 50–54), and probably considerably later. Mr. Loat found an example of about the XIXth Dynasty at Gurob (*Gurob*, p. 2, and Pl. vii. 2 and 3). The fact that a black-topped predynastic vase was found over the body in E 16 is due to accident, the burial having been disturbed by the later grave E 15, and the vase (of which we found numbers lying about in the sand), a product of early plundering, having been thrown in with the filling.

Type IV.—Late Vaulted Tombs of Brick.

Of these tombs nineteen examples were excavated, but in order to preserve a rational arrangement it has been found necessary to deal with them along with the other tombs of their period in Chapter VIII. Suffice it to say here that the general type is a rectangular chamber built with a flown vault just below the surface of the sand. It is entered by means of a shallow shaft, which may be placed on any side convenient. There is, in most cases at least, a superstructure of some kind over the vault. The examples of this type in Cemetery E probably belong in the main to the Ptolemaic period, though some may date from the Persian period which preceded it.

Dating of the Tombs.

It now remains to determine if possible the date of the various types of tombs. In doing this we shall, where necessary, make use of the material found in 1909–10,[1] as well as in the excavations just described.

With regard to the vaults of Type IV. there can be little doubt. The style of the mummies frequently enables us to attribute them to the Ptolemaic period, as in the case of 422. In other cases, where the mummies have been destroyed, we have only the evidence of the objects to guide us. Thus the fine glazed scarab and wings with amulets found in 460 (Pl. XXXVIII., fig. 2) may either be Ptolemaic or possibly belong to the Persian period. Nothing, however, was found which points to an earlier date than this last for any of the vaulted tombs.

The surface graves of Type III. *b* are, as has already been mentioned, of very various dates. Tomb 4611, in which the head is to the north, may perhaps belong to the same date as the surface graves III. *a* and the shafts, and it is possible that one or two of the extended surface burials found in the former season belong to the same class. Other graves, however, of Type III. *b* are certainly much later. Thus, 290 and 390 (former season) yielded scarabs which belong probably to the XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty, and in many graves there were beads and amulets which point to this period or a little later. In fact, the cemetery seems to have been used in a desultory fashion by the poor from the XVIIIth Dynasty onwards, and each grave must, where there is any evidence at all (which is seldom), be judged on its own merits.

The graves of Type III. *a*, with semi-contracted bodies, which differ in no particular from the burials in the shafts, may be assigned to the same period as these. This is confirmed by the fact that in two tombs of this type, 31 and 376 (former season), there were vases of types common in the shafts.

For the dating of the shafts themselves there is abundant material, which will be published in *Cemeteries of Abydos* I., a volume which is to appear shortly. The most important points in the evidence are included here. The pottery of the shafts is of a type which could fit no period but the Vth and VIth Dynasties or slightly later. The buff pear-shaped vase, the unbaked or lightly baked *ta* vase, the coarse vase of type Pl. XXXII., right-hand top corner, and the polished red bowls of 338, with the pottery head-rest of the same ware found in 317, are all typical of the VIth Dynasty. To the same period too point quite unequivocally the pointed alabasters with collar from 101, and the diorite vase which accompanies them. Among the earliest objects from the shafts are perhaps the fine alabaster and ivory figures, and the table of vases and implements for the "Opening of the Mouth" ceremony, found in 21. These could hardly be much earlier than the Vth Dynasty, and there is no reason why they should not be VIth. To this latter dynasty or thereabouts point the numerous carnelian and

[1] This will all be described in *Cemeteries of Abydos*, I.

other amulets of 45 and 47. With this dating also agree the shape of the shaft and the position of the body. In the IVth (and possibly early Vth) Dynasty cemetery, D, found at Abydos in 1912–13, the predynastic custom of tight contraction was already giving way to loose contraction, such as we have in Cemetery E. But in D there were no cases of extension. In other words, E occupies a position midway between the IVth and the XIIth Dynasties; it represents the gradual transition from the loosely contracted to the extended position.[1] In E the extended position has not yet entirely prevailed; in the XIIth Dynasty cemeteries of Abydos it is practically universal, though we find a reminiscence of the old rite of contraction in the occasional placing of the body on the left side with knees slightly bent. The form of the shafts in Cemetery E marks a similar transition. In the IVth Dynasty the elementary chamber or recess could be placed on the east or west of the shaft, while in the XIIth it was invariably at the north or south end. In E the latter is the more usual form, but we still find the older fashion in isolated cases, for there are nine shafts with the chamber under the east side and three which have it under the west. We shall therefore be safe in attributing the shafts of E to the period whose centre was the VIth Dynasty. A few may be as early as Vth Dynasty, and some of the re-used shafts[2] may belong to the dark years that followed the VIth, but none are likely to be as late as the rise of the Theban Kingdom.[3]

The tombs of Type I. belong, of course, to the period preceding the Ist Dynasty, and they seem to cover practically the whole of that period. This will be apparent when the details of the tombs dug in 1909–10 are published in *Cemeteries of Abydos*, I. The earliest tombs seem to have been placed on the west, and the cemetery spread towards the east. The latest tomb is without doubt 383, which contained painted wavy-handled vases of a very advanced cylindrical type, which belong to the border line between the predynastic period and the Ist Dynasty.

The chronological sequence established by these datings is fully borne out by the manner in which the graves in this crowded cemetery have in some cases cut into or even destroyed one another. In the first season's work there were seventeen cases of cutting or overlapping of graves. Of these, twelve were cases in which a predynastic grave of Type I. had been damaged by a shaft. Of these shafts two contained burials in the shaft itself and the remaining ten had chambers to the south, while of the twelve bodies which they contained seven were extended and five semi-contracted. The tombs damaged by shafts are invariably tombs of Type I. (predynastic), and these latter, though cut into and overlapped by every other kind of tomb, have in no case themselves cut into or overlapped another tomb of any type. Moreover, in no case do the shafts cut into a tomb of Type III., though tombs of Type III. *b* occasionally lie directly over shafts. In the work described in the present chapter there was one particularly interesting example, E 4348, in which a shaft had been made with its south-east corner so close to a predynastic tomb of Type I. that the bricks with which the top of the shaft is lined actually lie in part over the body in the predynastic tomb. Here there can be no possible doubt that the predynastic tomb is more ancient than the shaft whose wall is built vertically over it. In order to make this clear the sand was carefully extracted from the predynastic tomb, and the wall of the shaft was held up by hand until a vertical brick could be introduced beneath to support it for the

[1] This same transition is to be observed in all parts of Egypt, not in Abydos only.

[2] e.g., 405 and 4401, where the coffin is far too short for the chamber, and 419, 4036, and 4311, where it is too long. This almost certainly points to re-use. There were several examples in the earlier season's work.

[3] Cemetery S had by that time come into use.

purpose of the photograph (Pl. I., fig. 4). The view is taken from the south-west, and shows the outside of the bricking of the shaft, the interior of the shaft being visible in the top left-hand corner.

The above considerations will be conclusive to most archaeologists as to the date and order of the various types of tomb. An interesting suggestion has, however, been made which would give quite a different interpretation to the data of the cemetery, and we must therefore examine the question in even greater detail.

This suggestion is based on a theory that the original predynastic people of Egypt, to whom the name Anu is given, were racially quite distinct from the dynastic Egyptians, and continued to live on in Egypt side by side with them, maintaining their own primitive civilization unaltered and intact by the side of that of the dynastic conquerors. Thus it is suggested that a tomb of the type known as predynastic need not necessarily be earlier in date than the Ist Dynasty, but may be as late as the VIth or even the XIIth; it is said to be simply a tomb of the Anu and not of the dynastic Egyptians; or, in other words, it is urged that the difference between "predynastic" tombs and ordinary Egyptian tombs (shaft tombs for example) is not necessarily chronological but merely racial. The parallel existence of two different civilizations in a single region is not in itself impossible *a priori*, but the evidence of the cemetery we have just described, which has been quoted as a proof of it in Egypt, does not seem to us to admit of such an interpretation.

The explanation which this theory gives of our cemetery is as follows. The earliest tombs in it are said to be the shafts, which are said to date from the VIth or even the XIth Dynasty. The predynastic tombs (Type I.) are taken to be of later date than the shafts, and to be the work of the descendants of the old predynastic race (Anu). The history of this cemetery would in this case be the following.[1] The ground was first used in the VIth or XIth Dynasty, when Egyptians were buried there in shafts. At some date after this the cemetery was usurped by the Anu, who buried their dead partly in the shallow surface graves typical of their civilization and partly in the already existing shafts, after first turning out the previous owners.

This theory, however attractive, seemed to me from the first to come into serious conflict with certain facts observed and recorded in the cemetery by Mr. Dixon and myself in the season of 1909–10, and the further excavations of the second season only served to strengthen my conviction. It therefore seems necessary to set out at some length the grounds on which this opinion is based, that we may not seem to reject without due reason an interpretation which is entitled to respectful consideration.

In order to show that in a particular cemetery a certain type of surface burial is later in date than a certain type of shaft, the simplest argument would be to point to cases in which the surface burials had been found untouched in position directly over the top of shafts. But this is precisely what cannot be done in Cemetery E. Nay more, not only is there not a single case of this, but there are twelve cases of the opposite phenomenon, namely of a shaft having cut right through a predynastic tomb. In some cases the digging of the shaft completely effaced the surface tomb, whose contents were merely thrown together on one side or even scattered: in other cases the digging of the shaft cut away a quarter, or half, or three quarters of the surface tomb, and left the rest intact, unless, indeed, it was thought worth while to ransack it completely in the hope of plunder. In these instances, where only part of a surface tomb was cut away, it followed that at the point of section there

[1] *Recueil des Travaux*, xxxiii., pp. 207–210; *Archaeological Report*, 1909–10, pp. 4–7.

remained a curved depression in the soft rocky side of the shaft, which formed a natural funnel down which the loose upper sand could pour into the shaft to the annoyance of the diggers. They therefore plastered up this depression with mud, and the occurrence of this mud plastering inside the shaft was a sure sign to the excavators that the remains of a predynastic tomb lay behind.

It is natural to infer from the facts just described that the predynastic tombs are earlier than the shafts by whose cutting they were in many cases destroyed or damaged. But an alternative has been suggested, namely that the shafts were all (with one exception, No. 21) twice used, that the *original* burials in the shafts were the earliest in the cemetery, that the surface predynastic burials came next in order of date, and that last of all the shafts were re-used, it being this re-using which caused the damage to the surface tombs. Both the surface tombs and the re-burials in the shafts are said to be the work of the Anu.

It is to be observed in the first place that this theory of a re-using of the shafts, even if true, would not *prove* that the predynastic tombs are later than the first burials in the shafts, but would only make it possible. It might still be true that they were the earliest burials of all and that they were damaged by the first cutting of the shafts and not by the re-using. Moreover, it is far from certain that all the shaft tombs, except E 21, were re-used. In the first place, the absence of bricking at the entrance of the chamber is no proof of re-use, for this bricking is quite regularly omitted in untouched tombs of this period: there are numerous examples of this in the VIth Dynasty cemetery in Region T. This absence of bricking is particularly noticeable in those VIth Dynasty tombs where the chamber is cut not under one of the ends but under one of the long sides or round one of the corners, as in Shafts 418 and 4571 of this cemetery. For this reason it seems to me an unproved assumption to say that all the shafts except No. 21 are re-used.[1] There are some of which the statement is undoubtedly true, such as 304 and 325, where remains of the original bricking were found at the entrance to the chamber, or 4036 and 4311, where the chambers were clearly not cut for the coffins which were found in them. But there is no proof that for example Shaft 122, which cuts through a predynastic grave, was used more than once, or that the burial found in it was not the original one.

Even if we were to admit for the moment that all or most of the shafts were used twice, there would still remain a difficulty in supposing that the making of the predynastic tombs dated from a period in between the first use and the re-use. We have seen that in the cases where a predynastic tomb is cut by a shaft a portion of the former, sometimes half, sometimes almost the whole, sometimes a mere fraction, remained intact on the edge of the shaft. We have therefore to suppose that the digger of such predynastic tombs as these preferred to dig them partly in the rock wall of the shaft which he found there, partly in its soft sand filling, when it would have been infinitely easier to hollow the grave entirely in the soft filling. It is unthinkable that an oriental workman, or indeed any workman, should have chosen the former alternative. Moreover, to dig a tomb with one half in rock and the other in loose sand would have been virtually a physical impossibility, the two materials behaving so differently when cut. And, finally, an observation of particular instances of cutting reduces the supposition *ad absurdum*,

[1] Even if this re-using be admitted, there remains a fatal objection to the theory in the fact that Shaft 21, which admittedly contains its original burial and is said to be the oldest tomb in the cemetery, has actually cut through a predynastic grave (55) at its north-east corner. The predynastic tomb was small and almost circular; the lower part of the body still remained in place in the tightly contracted position, while the upper part had been cut away by the digging of the shaft. The brick and mud lining of the top of the shaft is intact at this corner.

for we simply cannot believe that any man would have chosen to cut nine-tenths of a tomb in the rock and the remaining tenth in the sand filling, or *vice versa*, as must certainly have happened in several cases, were this hypothesis true.

Against this unlikely picture we have to set a far more reasonable one. Let us imagine that the earliest tombs in the cemetery are the predynastic surface burials. In this cemetery at a later date it is required to sink a number of burial shafts, often in regular parallel rows of five or six, so that there is a certain amount of restriction as to the position of any one shaft. As the predynastic tombs were not very closely packed some shafts were cut without damage to them. Others, however, found a grave in their way. In some cases the cutting destroyed the whole of it, in others it so nearly destroyed it that a slight sinuosity in the shaft-wall is all that remains to record the fact; in other cases half a grave was cut away, and in others again only an end or a corner was shaved off it. Surely it will be agreed that this picture gives a far more natural and probable explanation of the facts than the other.

And here we must mention another point. It is true that in at least one case we have an example of an undamaged predynastic tomb so close to the side of a shaft that less than a foot separates them. Yet I cannot agree with the suggestion made that, had the surface tomb been there first, it would have been impossible to cut the shaft without destroying or at least damaging it. Is not the mere fact that we ourselves excavated the shaft before we discovered the presence of the predynastic tomb sufficient to demonstrate the possibility of this? It is true that in cutting or in re-digging a shaft the surface sand has to be cleared until the rock is exposed, but as the predynastic burial lies definitely down in the rock the sand above it could be removed right down to rock, if this were necessary, which it is not,[1] without damaging or even revealing the presence of the predynastic tomb.

The theory which we are discussing meets with further difficulties when we come to examine the details of the burials themselves. It will be remembered that a cardinal point in this theory is that the burials actually found in the shafts (which are said to be all re-burials except that in No. 21) are burials of the Anu, the same people who buried in the "predynastic" surface graves. Yet there are numerous fundamental differences between the shaft burials and the surface burials. In the first place, the bodies in the surface tombs are invariably *tightly* contracted, with the head to the south, whereas those in the shafts are either extended or *loosely* contracted, with the head to the north. In the next place, in the surface tombs the body is merely wrapped in or covered by a reed mat, there being no sign of a coffin of any kind, whereas in the shafts the body is invariably placed in a high wooden coffin, long or short according to the extended or semi-contracted position of the body. In the third place, the surface burials are always accompanied by funeral furniture of the type known as predynastic, that is to say, vases of the red-polished, black-topped, decorated, and wavy-handled wares so well known to the student of the predynastic civilization in Egypt; with these are slate palettes, objects of flint and of bone, and a few rare implements and ornaments of copper, all of the usual predynastic type. With the bodies in the shaft graves, on the other hand, there is not a single example of any object of the predynastic type. Everything found was thoroughly typical of Egyptian art of the Vth and VIth Dynasties, as for example the carnelian and ivory amulets of E 45 and

[1] It was precisely in order to avoid the moving of much top sand that the Egyptian shaft-diggers, as soon as they reached the rock, laid a few courses of brick on it in the shape of the shaft to be dug. When once this was done the loose sand troubled them no further, and was allowed to drift back against the outer face of the bricking.

E 47,[1] and the copper mirror, the black stone vase, and the two alabasters of E 101.[2]

In other words, the two types of graves and their contents are wholly different,[3] and it is out of the question to attribute them to a single people, the Anu, usurping an older cemetery at a date later than the XIth Dynasty. The surface graves are beyond all possible doubt predynastic, that is to say, they belong to a date earlier than the Ist Dynasty. This has long been proved by the accurate study of the objects found in these graves. It has, for instance, been shown how the pottery of the period developed into that of the Ist Dynasty, known to us from the earlier of the Royal Tombs of Abydos. The same has been demonstrated with regard to the stone vases, the copper objects and the flints. Cemeteries have been found covering the period of this transition, in which the tomb types show every stage in the development. Indeed, research has gone so far that we may speak of the predynastic period as one of the best known chapters of Egyptian history.

Such, then, in our belief, is the period to which our surface tombs belong. With regard to the shafts the matter is equally straightforward. They belong roughly to the Vth and VIth Dynasties.[4] They show clearly the transition from the earlier form at Abydos, namely the square shaft with a chamber under one corner, through the slightly longer shaft with chamber under a corner or a long side, to the long shaft with chamber under one of the short ends, which became the regular type in the XIIth Dynasty at Abydos. The coffins are of simple wood, as is usual at the period, there is the mixture of extended and loosely contracted burial which every cemetery of the period shows,[5] and the objects found are all of well-known Vth and VIth Dynasty Egyptian types. Many of the tombs doubtless contain their original burials, others may have been re-used in the dark period which followed the VIth Dynasty.

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[1] Figured in *Archaeological Report*, 1909–10, Pl. ii., fig. 3. These amulets were not found, as accidentally implied, *op. cit.*, p. 7, in a surface grave with the extended body of a child.

[2] I see no evidence for believing that these four objects are of various epochs. They are all well established Vth to VIth Dynasty types.

[3] See also the evidence of the skull measurements, note 4.

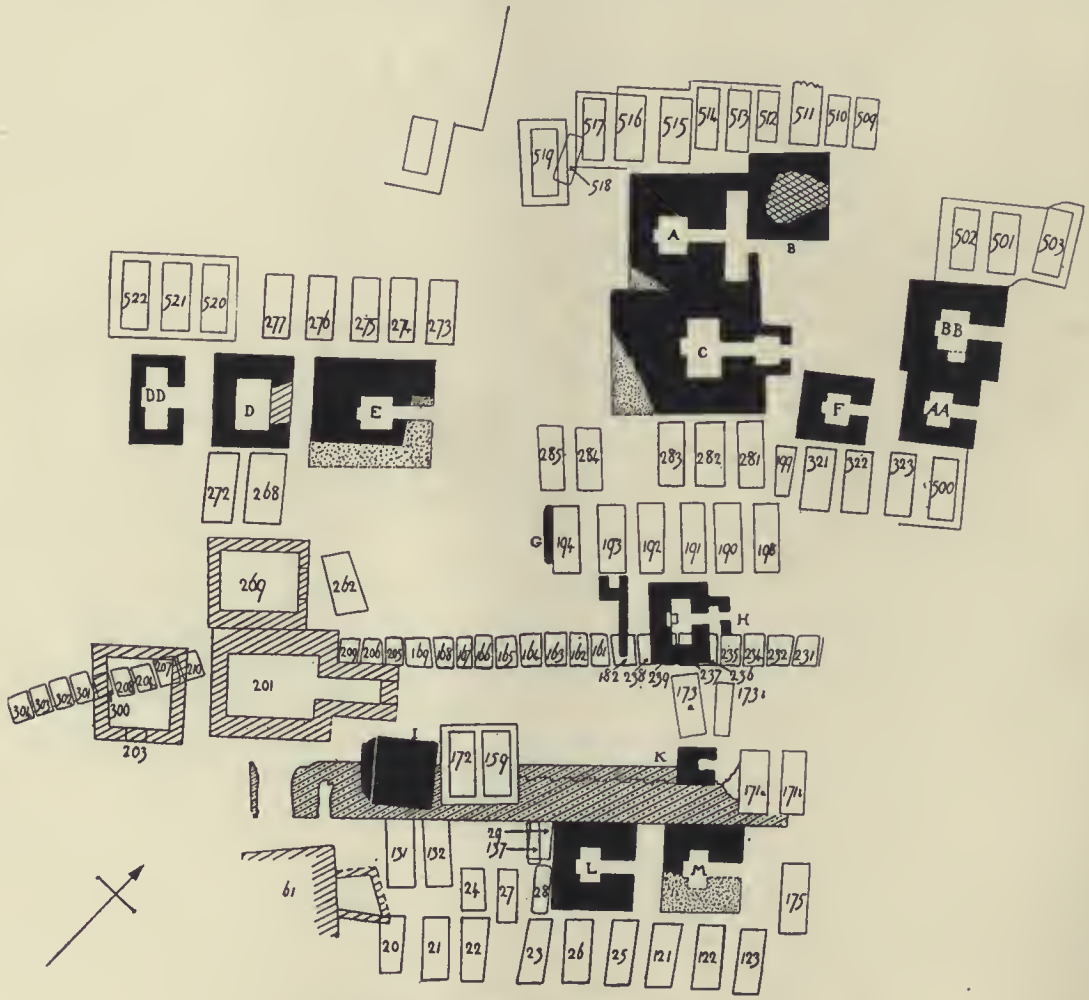
[4] The statement that the deceased in these shafts were not Egyptians [*Archaeological Report*, 1909–10, p. 6] lacks proof. What evidence we have is to the contrary. The cephalic index of the extended bodies in shafts is 75·96, that of semi-contracted bodies in shafts 75·77, and that of tightly contracted bodies in predynastic surface graves 73·53. If these measurements show anything they show that all the burials in shafts were of a single ordinary dynastic type, while the predynastic bodies were considerably different from them, which is exactly what one would expect, the Egyptian of the VIth Dynasty being known to be rather more broad-headed than his predynastic ancestor. See Elliot Smith, *Ancient Egyptians*, p. 111.

[5] In 273 we actually have an extended and a loosely contracted body in one and the same coffin.

CHAPTER IV.

CEMETERY S.

THE plot which we have marked with the letter S lies between the ruins of the Shuneh and the cultivation (see fig. 1). It is mainly occupied by a large cemetery of the XIIth Dynasty and a plan of the whole. In the southern part, tombs and groups of tombs have been worked sporadically by early excavators, and the earth from them thrown in all directions regardless of



Fig, 8. Plan of part of Cemetery S. Scale $\frac{1}{300}$.

the period immediately preceding, but there are both earlier and later remains among these. The northern part of the cemetery has never been touched in modern times, and we were thus able to dig it systematically and to produce what was thus concealed. In this part of the cemetery, accordingly, our work had to be confined to the excavation of those tombs which seemed to be untouched by modern excavators, and planning was out of the question. In the

following description the tombs are divided into three classes according to their date, viz. tombs of the Ist Dynasty, tombs of the XIIth and immediately preceding dynasties, and tombs of later date.

I.—Tombs and Constructions of the Ist Dynasty.

In the plan (fig. 8), not far from the bottom, is seen a long, narrow structure, hatched with alternate firm and broken lines, running from north-east to south-west. This can only be described as a wall, though it is not certain that it formed part of any closed building. Its breadth is 180 cm., and on its north-west face it has a series of niches 35 cm. broad and 15 deep, shown on the plan. The height of the wall at these niches is now nowhere more than five courses of brick, but it is impossible to tell what its original height was. In front of the niches is a kind of ledge or step, very clearly seen in Pl. VI., fig. 1. It is 45 cm. broad and only one brick in height. Before it, again, is a stretch of mud paving, also clear in the photograph; it is now much destroyed, but originally extended over a metre at least. Along the south-east face of the wall runs a similar mud pavement, the level of which is about 30 cm. lower than that on the north-west side. It extended for at least two metres to the south-east.

That this wall was early was evident from the fact that several of the XIIth Dynasty mastabas were built over it, as, for example, I and K, while L and M lay directly over its pavement on the south-east side, but separated from it by a clear stratum of sand, from which it was evident that at the time of the building of the mastabas the wall was already forgotten and even partly buried in sand. The elaborate niches on the north-west side suggested that we might be face to face with some new building of the Shuneh and Middle Fort type, and we therefore followed the wall in both directions in the hope of finding corners and returns. But here we were disappointed, for at the south-west extremity, where it was very seriously denuded, we found what appeared to be a straight end but no return wall, while at the north-east end, 21 metres away, the wall seems to have been completely destroyed by late dynastic vaults, and trial trenches further to the north-east failed to pick it up.

Four metres north-west of the wall, and parallel to it along its whole length, was a line of small tombs of the Ist Dynasty, thirty in number. The structure of these tombs was peculiar, for they were not separately built but all lay in a single trench 120 cm. wide divided up by rough brick cross-walls into separate tombs (Pl. VII., fig. 1). In each of these lay a male body. The position was that usual in the Ist Dynasty. The contraction in most cases was rather tight, though seldom so tight as that found in the early and middle predynastic period. The thighs were in all cases drawn up past the position which marks a right angle with the spine, but in many cases they only just passed this position. The arms were usually bent, though the hands were rarely quite up to the chin, and in some cases the arm was not bent at all. In most tombs the body lay on the left side; in a few, on the right. A few bodies lay with the head to the south (by river reckoning); the rest lay with head north. Some had no coffin at all; in other cases there had been a wooden coffin of some kind. In only one case could it be determined with absolute certainty that the coffin had a lid, and it may be that in the other cases we have to deal with the wood linings observed by Messrs. Ayrton and Loat at Mahasna in late predynastic graves. No objects were found with the bodies, except vases of types Pl. XXVIII., 164, 168, and vase to right of latter, and Pl. X., fig. 4, which are well-known Ist Dynasty shapes.

The structure of the graves, lying as they do in one trench separated only by partitions of a single thickness of brick, makes it very probable

that all the bodies were interred at one and the same time. The mere fact that the burials should be arranged as they are in a long line is also remarkable, and is quite contrary to the general practice in Egyptian cemeteries. When we further remember that every one of the bodies is that of a man, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that this line of tombs conceals some interesting piece of history. Suspecting a burial of warriors after a fight, we carefully examined the bones, especially the skulls, for signs of wounds, but found none. This of course does not absolutely disprove the hypothesis, but it at least makes it improbable. It is perhaps not worth while to speculate further on the point. We may, however, go so far as to suggest that the tombs may have some connection with the early wall. They run parallel to it throughout its whole length except for a short space where they have been destroyed by the late dynastic vault S 201. After passing the south-west end of the wall, they bend away a little towards the south (see plan, fig. 8). It is, moreover, a curious fact that the distance from the centre of one niche of the wall to that of the next, i.e. 89 cm., is exactly the average breadth of the graves; and, indeed, in the group of tombs 164 to 239, which faces the best-preserved portion of the wall, each tomb is exactly opposite to a niche. This may be mere coincidence, but it does suggest that the wall is in some way connected with the tombs.

The complete list of these tombs is as follows. It is to be understood that all the bodies are contracted, and that north and south refer to the points as given by the direction at Abydos of the river. Of the two vase types (Pl. XXVIII.) the cylindrical is called A, and the other with rounded bottom B.

161. Pl. VII., fig. 2. Body on l. side; head N. Two vases, both A, one at heels and other at elbows.

162 and 163. Empty.

164. On l. side; head N.; arms only slightly bent. Vase B in front of breast. No sign of coffin.

165. Empty.

166. Wooden coffin, no sign of lid; body on l. side; head N. Vase B before legs.

167. Pl. VII., fig. 1. Wooden coffin; body on l. side; head N. Vase B at heels.

168. Pl. VII., fig. 1. Exactly similar, except that l. arm is not bent.

169. Exactly similar to 167, but right arm bent instead of l. No coffin.

182. On l. side; head N. Vase A at knees. No coffin.

204. Empty.

205. On r. side; head S. Coffin, no lid.

206. On l. side; head N. No coffin. Vase B at knees.

207. On l. side; head N.; l. arm not bent. Coffin, no lid. Vase B in N.W. corner.

208. Small tomb, $90 \times 70 \times 50$ cm. Body on r. side; head N. Wooden coffin, 85×40 cm., covered with a red pigment inside and out.

209. Empty.

210. On l. side; head N. Coffin, no lid. Vase B under legs.

231. Body supine with knees drawn up above it; head N.; face to E. Vase B at r. elbow. Coffin. Broken wooden pin and fragment of copper wire in sand filling of grave.

232. On l. side; head N. Coffin, with vase B in N.W. corner of it.

233. Directly over the wall that divides 232 and 234. Body on r. side; head N. Coffin.

234. On l. side; head N. No coffin. Vase B in N.E. corner.

235. On l. side; head N. No coffin. Vase B at knees. A few bricks under the body.

236. Exactly like 235, but without vase, and with knees drawn up above body.

237. Exactly like 236, but no bricks beneath.

238. Exactly like 237.

239. On r. side; head N. Vase B at left hand.

300. On l. side; head N. Wooden coffin, with

lid, covered in and out with red pigment. Vase B at back.

301. On l. side; head N. Coffin. Vase B behind pelvis.

302. Body supine, knees originally drawn up over it but now fallen apart. Coffin.

304 and 305. Empty.

Twenty-four metres north-west of this line of small tombs was found a parallel line of larger and richer tombs of the same period, the Ist Dynasty. These had originally been graves of considerable magnificence, as will be seen from the few objects found in and around them, which rival in value and workmanship the objects found in the Royal Tombs of Umm el Qa'âb. Unfortunately the tombs had been completely ransacked, perhaps more than once, and every object of any face-value had been removed, while of the bodies in some cases not a bone remained. The graves were fourteen in number, and lay in a straight line running north-east and south-west. Each tomb was complete in itself and separate from its neighbours, and consisted of a brick-lined pit about a metre and a half square and from one to two metres in depth. The bricking was rough on the outside where it had been built up against the rock, and was plastered with mud on the inside. The bottom of the pit was not paved in any way. Judging by the pieces of mud with impressions of reeds found in S 601, the tombs were covered with roofs of wood and reeds plastered over with mud. Tomb 609, the furthest to the north-east, differed slightly in structure from the rest. It measured 192 × 136 cm., and was 139 cm. in depth, but at 83 cm. from the top there was a ledge 19 cm. in width running round the whole pit.

The complete catalogue of this group of tombs is as follows:—

S 542 and 543. No finds.

S 544. Five ivory arrow-points, a small cylindrical piece of ivory, a piece of an alabaster dish, two pottery vases (Pl. XXVIII.), and some potsherds.

S 545. Two ivory arrow-heads (Pl. X., fig. 3).

S 546 and 547. Empty.

S 548. Three ivory lions (Pl. X., fig. 1). In one of these a paw had broken off and had been mended in the following manner. A small flat rectangular slip of the ivory was removed from the base of the figure behind the point where the broken paw had been. A piece of bone was then cut to the exact shape of the lost paw and the rectangular slip. This was then placed in position and two holes were bored in it and up through the body of the lion, emerging behind the neck. Through these a rivet consisting of a narrow ribbon of copper was then threaded, and this, when tightened, held the new piece in position. This clumsy repairing forms a curious contrast to the excellent work of the figure itself. Both the bone piece and the hole behind the neck are visible in the photo (Pl. X., fig. 1, upper lion).

Eleven marbles of black-and-white mottled stone, and ten of white stone (Pl. X., fig. 3).
Piece of gold-foil.
Minute flake of flint.
Broken flint knife.
Ten short sticks of ivory for inlay (Pl. X., fig. 3).
Fragments of two ivory bracelets.
Part of a small hemispherical object of ivory.
Pieces of a green glaze button (?).
Several shells, partly ground down.
Barrel bead of dark blue stone.
Piece of red ochre.
Pottery vases (Pl. XXVIII., top row).
Rectangular mud vase with three compartments.

Mud vase with two rectangular holes in its side (so-called model granary, cf. example from S 603, Pl. XXVIII.).

S 549. Pieces of two ivory bracelets.
Three short pieces of ivory inlay and bottom of cylindrical ivory vase.
Two shells.
Piece of a large flat shell.
Small flat copper hook.
Mud sealing for vase, conical, with knob.

S 601. Piece of a slate bowl.
Ivory arrow-point (cf. Pl. X., fig. 3).
Small ivory cup (Pl. X., fig. 3).
Piece of mud with impression of reeds.
Pottery vases (Pl. XXVIII.).

S 602. Four ivory arrow-points and fragments.
Two pieces of copper ribbon 12 mm. broad.
One cowrie and two ground shells.
Spherical blue glaze bead.
Bead covered with gold-foil.
Piece of alabaster bowl.
Two small pointed flint flakes.

S 603. Pottery vases (Pl. XXVIII.).
Fine cylindrical vase of alabaster (Pl. X., fig. 2, and Pl. XXVIII.).

S 604. Empty.

S 605. Pieces of four fine stone bowls and of one large cylindrical alabaster jar.
Double scraper of flint (Pl. IX., fig. 1, bottom left).

S 606. Piece of large cylindrical alabaster vase.
Piece of black stone vase.
Pottery vase (Pl. XXVIII.).

S 607. Empty.

S 608. Leaf-shaped flint (Pl. IX., fig. 1).
Two double scrapers of flint (Pl. IX., fig. 1, right-hand side).
Pieces of an alabaster vase and two stone bowls.

S 609. Piece of thin copper wire.
Six discoid carnelian beads.
Two discoid green glaze beads.
Piece of large cylindrical jar of black stone.

At a considerable distance (over 50 metres) to the south-east of the great wall there had existed another row of poor tombs of this period running in the same direction as the two just described. As this was in the disturbed part of the cemetery it had suffered very badly, but remains of at least five tombs were found, of which the two most important, which were well preserved, are here described.

S 626. Small rectangular bricked pit, 134 × 73 cm. Original depth not obtainable. Body tightly contracted on right side, with the head west by river reckoning, a very unusual position. It lay in a coffin 94 × 42 cm., made of wood 3 cm. thick. The coffin had a bottom, but no trace of a lid. The sides were pegged together at the corners. The body was probably male.

S 629. Similar grave, badly damaged, but probably of about the same size as the last. Body tightly contracted on right side, with head to local west. Wooden coffin with lid.

Slightly north-west of this last group of tombs was found the deposit of Ist Dynasty vases shown on Pl. VII., fig. 3. It lay under the foundations of a much-damaged XIIth Dynasty mastaba, whose ruins are visible in the photograph. East of it was a pile of fragments of similar vases, and to the south, under the edge of another mastaba, was a very large rough bowl (Pl. XXVIII., marked S) of Ist Dynasty pottery in fragments, visible at the back in Pl. VII., fig. 3. The soil beneath these deposits was

virgin, and we were unable to find any meaning whatsoever for their presence.

We thus have in this space, between the Shunch and the cultivation, three lines of Ist Dynasty tombs, one rich and two poor, all running in the same direction, a wall with niches, and the curious pottery deposit just described. Whether these are isolated or connected phenomena, and what their significance is, are questions which cannot be answered.

II.—The XIIth Dynasty Tombs.

Between the Ist Dynasty, when the extraordinary groups of burials above discussed were made, and the end of the VIth Dynasty no interments seem to have been made in Cemetery S. In one of the dynasties which followed the VIth, perhaps not earlier than the XIth, the ground again began to be used for burial. The earliest graves are those nearest the Dêr, *i.e.* furthest to the north by river reckoning. This is clear from several indications,[1] of which the most important are two alabasters found in this part of the cemetery (Pl. X., figs. 6 and 17). Both are clearly degradations of well-known VIth Dynasty types, and we may safely put them into the period which elapsed between that dynasty and the XIIth, though it would be foolish to try to be more precise than this. It is just worth while to notice that Cemetery E seems to come down as far as the end of the VIth Dynasty and even into the period beyond, and it is therefore quite possible that Cemetery S takes up the story at the point where we leave it in Cemetery E. As we move south by river reckoning, we find the graves getting later and later until, in the portion of the cemetery which has been previously worked in modern times, we are in the full flower of the XIIth Dynasty.

[1] See also the proof below (p. 38) that Mastaba C is later than A, which is itself later than B. This points to a development of the cemetery from north to south.

The Mastabas.

In the middle and later parts of the cemetery every group of tombs, almost without exception, is connected with a brick mastaba. The earlier type of mastaba, such as we saw in Cemetery D (*Cemeteries of Abydos*, III.), in which the rites were carried on in a small courtyard outside in front of the niches, has now been superseded by a type in which the rites are performed and the offerings made within the building itself. For this reason the mastaba is no longer solid, but is hollow.

The general type seems invariable. The mastaba is rectangular, usually almost square, with a slight batter on the outer face, which was probably in all cases plastered over with mud. The single chamber is comparatively small and is entered by a narrow arched doorway in the east (local) side of the mastaba. This doorway is occasionally approached by a small courtyard bounded by a low wall. The method by which the chamber was roofed is uncertain. In some cases it was clearly achieved by a barrel-vault, in others possibly by a corbelled dome. There is no evidence to show whether the mastaba had a plain flat roof outside, or whether the roof of the chamber rose above that of the solid portions of the structure. The stela was let into the west wall of the chamber exactly opposite to the doorway, its base resting on the ground. At its foot lay the offering-table. The chamber and the fore-court, where it existed, were paved with a thick layer of mud. This pavement was also found in a few cases outside the mastaba. In no case was there any sign of an enclosure wall around the whole structure, as is the case in some later examples at Abydos.

With each mastaba were connected from two to four shafts. These lay indifferently to the north (local) or to the south of their mastaba. Usually one shaft in each group was unfinished, descending only a metre or two, having no chamber, and containing no burial. Some shafts had chambers at both north and south ends, but

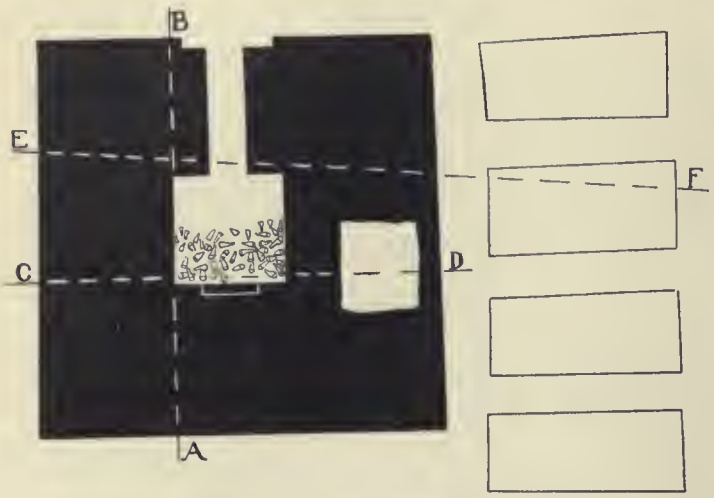


Fig. 9. Plan of Mastaba N. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

in most cases where there was a chamber at one end only the end chosen was that over which the mastaba stood. The shafts are roughly rectangular, never square, and lie local north and south.

Detailed Description of the Mastabas.

In the southern portion of the cemetery the mastabas had been badly damaged and often completely destroyed. The only remains of any importance were, firstly, a fragment of Mastaba P, which showed the vestiges of a barrel-vault over the chamber, and also a false stela similar to that of N, and secondly the large mastaba N.

Mastaba N (Pl. VI., fig. 2, and Pl. VIII., fig. 3).

This is the largest and finest of the mastabas excavated (figs. 9 and 10). It measures 5·25 m. by 5·17 m. and is preserved in parts to a height of nineteen courses, the courses consisting of alternate headers and stretchers. The outside has a slight batter and was probably plastered with mud. There are no foundations whatsoever, the builders not having even troubled to level the ground. The body of the mastaba consists of bricks laid with comparative regularity and bound with mud.

The chamber measures 1·50 m. by 1·45 m. and its walls are whitewashed. It is entered from the east by a low passage 1·66 m. long, with an arched roof (fig. 11*c*). The arch consists of a double layer of bricks set on edge. Both chamber and passage are paved with mud. In the west wall of the chamber was the usual niche for the stela, but there was no stela in it. It had been bricked up at the bottom with two rows of bricks placed slantwise in herring-bone form, and above this with regular horizontal courses which bind up at the sides of the niche into the ordinary masonry of the chamber. The masonry behind this bricking was solid. Before the niche, and occupying the whole of the western half of the chamber, was a veritable mass of offering-vases (Pl. VIII., fig. 5). The upper part of the east and west walls of the chamber is destroyed. In the north wall, at a height of 130 cm. from the floor, is a loophole 30 × 20 cm. communicating with the outside of

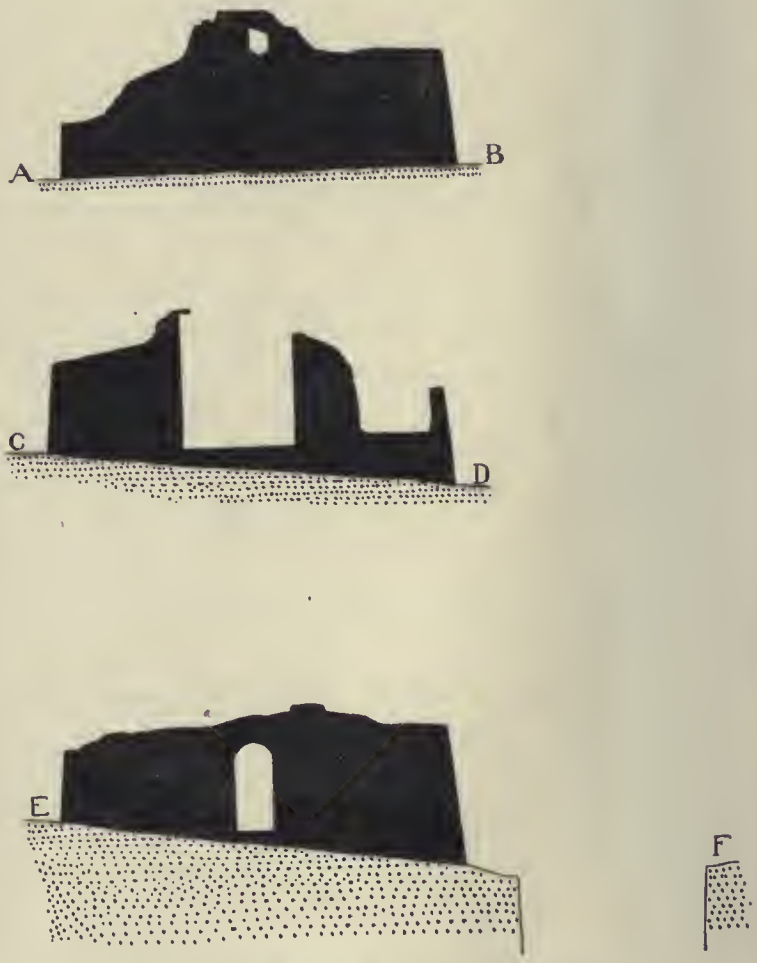


Fig. 10. Sections through AB, CD, and EF of Mastaba N. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

the mastaba (fig. 11*b*, and Pl. VIII., fig. 3). The base of this loophole is marked with scratches, but no furrow is visible beneath it in the chamber wall. The marks on and near these loopholes seem to suggest that offerings were pushed into the chamber through them. But if this is the case it seems probable, though not necessary, that the main door must have been closed up, yet in no case have we found any sign of such closing.

The roof of the chamber has completely disappeared. It may have been a barrel-vault, as was that of its neighbour P. Against this has to be set the existence of a single brick, to all appearance in position, across the north-west corner at 170 cm. from the floor (fig. 11*a*). This cannot be reconciled with the existence of a barrel-vault, but suggests either a true dome or a corbelled vault.

It is equally uncertain whether the roof of the chamber stood out above the solid part of the mastaba, or whether there was a single flat roof to the whole structure. Unfortunately the building has been cut up on the north and east sides by two late dynastic vaulted tombs, for which the solid mass of bricks offered a useful foundation.

Immediately to the south of the chamber was a pit cut in the solid masonry, about a metre square (Pl. VIII., fig. 3). This is clearly the work of thieves, but whether there was at this spot a concealed chamber containing a stela or *ka*-statue, it is impossible to determine.

There is no enclosure wall round the mastaba and no trace of an entrance court. Both chamber and arched passage are paved with mud. The shafts (38 *a* and *b* and 39) lie to the south.

Further north the mastabas were less imposing, but many of them were well preserved (see plan, fig. 8).

Mastaba A.

This is, in construction, of quite ordinary type, with a chamber 165 × 120 cm. and the usual niche for the stela. Its interest lies in the fact that Mastaba B, which already existed, was made to serve as part of its courtyard wall. A short piece of wall reaching from one mastaba to the other closed the court to the north, while Mastaba B formed the north half of the east wall. The southern half of the enclosure is built in the ordinary manner. The courtyard is paved with mud (Pl. VIII., fig. 1, from the north), as also are the passage and chamber, which lie at a level 10 cm. above that of the courtyard. There are no remains of the roofing, as the mastaba nowhere stands to a height of more than six courses.

The proof that A is later than B lies, apart from the adaption of the latter to serve as a

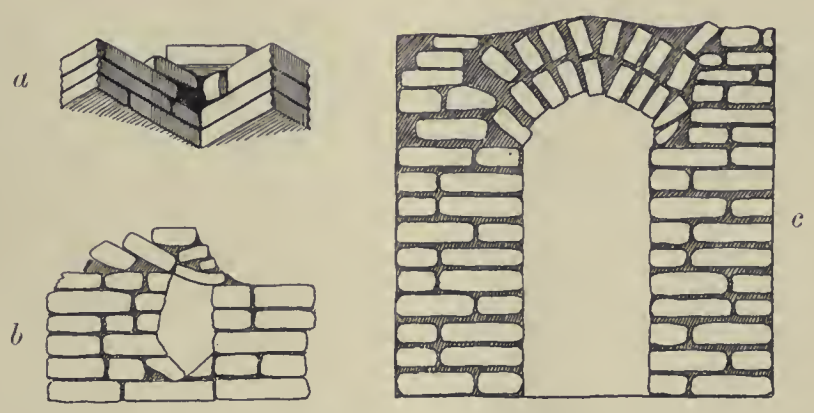


Fig. 11. Mastaba N. (*a*) Sketch of upper courses of N.W. (local) corner of chamber; (*b*) north loophole of chamber from inside; (*c*) elevation of arched doorway from within. Scale $\frac{1}{30}$.

courtyard wall for the former, in the fact that the removal of a few bricks from the east end of the short north wall revealed the plaster coating of B still intact beneath. In other words, when this piece of wall was built Mastaba B was already completed and plastered.

The shafts of Mastaba A, probably 515–16, lie to the north.

Mastaba C.

This presents no special features except a small courtyard. The mastaba itself measures 600 × 495 cm. The north side was built up against Mastaba A and its south courtyard wall. C is clearly later than A, for at the points of contact the plastering of A is intact, while C is unplastered. The west side of the mastaba is sadly destroyed, and even its position is not absolutely certain. Both courtyard and chamber are paved, and the courtyard is partly let into the face of the mastaba, so that not being entirely exterior it more resembles an antechamber than a court (see plan, fig. 8).

The shafts of this mastaba are three in number (281–3) and lie to the south. The central shaft has no chamber, while each of the two outer has a chamber to the north, *i.e.* under the mastaba.

Mastaba D.

This mastaba measures 374 × 307 cm. It was practically destroyed by the construction over it of a late dynastic vault. The chamber measures 210 × 135 cm., but there is now no sign of the passage. Its shafts (S 268 and 272) lie to the south. Each has a single chamber lying under the mastaba.

Mastaba E.

This was badly damaged. Its chamber measured 127 × 141 cm., and the niche for the stela was still visible. There was no sign of roofing. Five shafts lie to the north (273–7). The two easternmost are unfinished and contain no burial, the two to the west of these have each a chamber to the south, under the mastaba, and the western shaft has no chamber at all.

Mastaba F.

This is well preserved up to a height of six courses. It measures 275 × 272 cm., and has a chamber 139 × 97 cm. in size. The niche for the stela is clear, but there is no other feature of interest.

Its shafts are Nos. 321, 322, and possibly 323. The two first were never finished and have no chamber, while the third has chambers to both north and south.

Mastaba G.

This number was given to a fragment of what seems to have been a mastaba over the western edge of Shaft 194. If it is indeed a mastaba, its shafts must be 284 and 285, which lie to the north of it. In this case we have an exception to the rule that the chamber should lie under its mastaba, for both shafts have chambers to the north. This would easily be explained by the proximity of Shafts 193 and 194, which made it impossible to excavate the chambers to the south.

Mastaba H (Pl. VI., fig. 3).

This mastaba was in some respects the most interesting of the series, as its offering-table and the lower half of its stela were still in position. Its dimensions were 315 × 200 cm., and it was preceded by a small courtyard, enclosed by a low wall 20 cm. high with a rounded top. The door-jambs at the outer end of the passage were of limestone, and had been inscribed with hieroglyphs, among which only the name Iuu could be traced. In the west wall of the chamber was the niche, and in this still stood the lower half of the stela, the upper part having been broken away at the level to which the mastaba had been denuded (Pl. VIII., fig. 2, from east). The stela, 66 cm. broad, was of limestone, with scenes and hieroglyphs in red, yellow and black paint (Pl. VI., fig. 5). Down the edges are remains of in-

scriptions in black, mentioning offerings of bread and beer for the honoured one Iuu. In the centre of the stela was the figure of Iuu himself seated on a chair. Below this stood a register of much smaller figures of servants engaged in various occupations. The whole was much damaged and the paint was barely visible. In front of the stela lay the offering-table (Pl. VIII., fig. 2) of rough limestone, resting on the mud floor of the chamber. The roof of the mastaba is completely destroyed.

The shafts lie to the north; Nos. 190, 191 and 192 certainly belong to this mastaba and have chambers under it, *i.e.* to the south. No. 198, lying east of these, was unfinished.

Mastaba I.

This consisted of a solid rectangular structure two courses high, lying directly over the great early wall. There is no sign of either chamber or entrance, and it is not certain that we have to deal with a true mastaba. To the south of it lie two shafts, 131 and 132. The latter was never finished, and the former has two chambers to the south, but none under the mastaba. The north wall of both shafts is formed by the south face of the great early wall.

Mastaba K (Pl. VI., fig. 7, from N. E.).

This is a very small structure, 145 cm. square, but it was preserved to a height of nine courses. The chamber is irregular in shape, and was almost certainly roofed by corbelling, though the evidence for this is not quite conclusive. The doorway, however, was probably arched; in any case the building must have lost at least two courses from the top.

This mastaba lay directly over the "step" of the early wall. Both this and one of the niches are visible in the photograph. The mud floor of the chamber was 41 cm. above the step and was separated from it by blown sand.

Shaft 173*a* may well belong to this mastaba, though its orientation is slightly different. It has a chamber to the south, directly under the mastaba. Shaft 173*b*, with its burial in the shaft itself, may also belong to the group.

Mastaba L (Pl. VII., fig. 6, S 25, from east).

This is one of the best preserved, standing to a height of ten courses. It measures 350 × 320 cm., and has a chamber 142 × 80 cm. There is no sign of the roof. The mastaba stands immediately to the south of the great wall, its north side being built up against the south face of the latter. The chamber is paved with mud, as also is the narrow passage which separates this mastaba from M. At a depth of 35 cm. below this pavement lies intact the mud flooring which runs along the whole of the south face of the great wall.

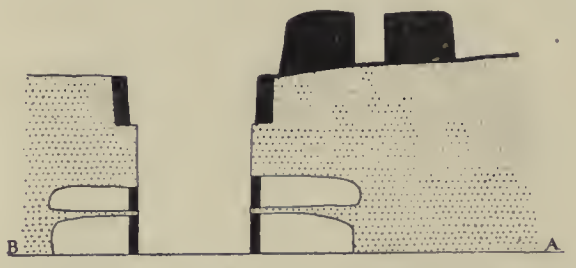


Fig. 12. Section on north and south (local) line of Shaft S 25 and its mastaba (L). Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

To the south of the mastaba lie its three shafts, 23, 25 and 26. Of these, No. 23 was never finished, 26 has a chamber to the north under the mastaba, and 25 (section, fig. 12) has two chambers to the north and two to the south.

Mastaba M.

This stood to the east of L and was apparently identical with it in dimensions and form. The whole of its southern half had been removed.

Three shafts lay to the south, Nos. 121–123. The first two have each a chamber to the north, under the mastaba. The third became so dangerous through continual falls of rock that we had to abandon it.

The other mastabas demand no special description and are quite normal in form. The niche

marked in the south wall of the chamber of BB may be accidental. Mastaba B is slightly damaged around the doorway, and the exact shape could not be given.

Miniature mastabas.

Of these there were three only. The first lay at the south end of Shaft 25. It measures 74 × 64 cm. and its height is 33 cm. (Pl. VIII., fig. 6). The doorway, which lies, as in the large mastabas, to the east, consists of two bricks set on end with a third placed horizontally across the top. The roof was corbelled on the north and south sides. At its centre there was one thickness of brick, but it may have suffered by denudation. The mastaba was probably built in connection with an intrusive burial of the XIIth Dynasty which we found in the top of Shaft 25.

The other small mastaba lay to the south of Shafts 36*a* and *b*, on the line of their dividing wall (visible in Pl. VI., fig. 2). It measures 90 × 75 cm., and has a slight batter. The floor is paved with mud and the whole of the inside is whitewashed (Pl. VIII., fig. 4). The roof is apparently formed by corbelling. Curiously enough there is no sign of an entrance, the gap visible in the photograph being only a later break. Either the mastaba was wholly closed, or it had a small window or small windows, and not a doorway on the level of the ground.

No burial was found with which it can be connected. It was certainly built after the shafts near which it stands, for it lies in part over their bricking, but the difference in date may be very small. It is not the mastaba to which those shafts originally belong, as this is still represented by some scanty remains to the north, badly destroyed by a later vaulted tomb.

A third small mastaba of about the same size as the last was found at the north end of Shaft S 624. It was badly damaged and is now quite open on the east side, which was perhaps its original form. Inside it were two vases of type Pl. XXVIII., left bottom corner. It is doubtless to be connected with one of the burials in the shaft.

With these two mastabas should be compared that numbered 418 in Cemetery E (see p. 21); it resembles them in size, but differs from both in some points of its structure.

Before leaving the mastabas there remains one structure to be described which is probably connected with them. It lies in the damaged southern half of the cemetery, not far from Mastaba N. Its form is clearly seen in the photograph Pl. VII., fig. 5. It consists of four small brick chambers, open on the east, and placed side by side so as to form a narrow rectangular building running north and south by river reckoning. The structure is later than a broken mastaba W which lies to the north of it and to which it is joined by a short piece of walling, for the removal of an end brick of this wall showed the plaster of the Mastaba W intact behind it. It is impossible to say by how much the chambers are later than the mastaba. They are built of bricks of the same size and containing the same white stones, so that there is some probability of their being of not much later date. The whole structure is whitewashed inside and out. The walls stand to a height of four courses and the floors are paved with brick. In the second chamber from the south end there is a niche in the back wall which was evidently meant to hold a stela. It is thus possible that this set of chambers served the same purpose as a mastaba, of which it was a cheaper representative.

The Shafts.

The shafts in cemetery S are of simple type. On an average they measure 250 to 300 cm. in length and 100 to 120 cm. in width. Those in the northern part of the plot are rather smaller than those in the southern. There is usually a brick lining round the upper part of the shaft,

rendered necessary by the fact that this part was sunk in wind-blown sand, which had to be held back before the lower part of the shaft could be cut in the rock. At the point where this bricking rests on the rock a ledge of the latter, about 10 or 20 cm. wide, is often left all round the shaft. The shafts vary in depth from two metres or even less to five. All are oriented north and south by river reckoning. Many have only one chamber, either at the north or south end; others have a chamber at each end, and a few have two at each end. There was, as a rule, no sign of roofing, the chambers having been closed by doors of brick and mud plaster and the shaft completely filled with sand. In two cases, however (S 570 and 571), there occurred a feature which is quite unknown to me in any other tombs at Abydos, that is, a vaulted roofing of brick. The photograph Pl. VI., fig. 6, taken from the south, shows this feature very well. It will be noticed that the grave is of the type with a ledge in the rock as described above. On this, at the north end, still rests an arch of three bricks covered with mud plaster. The same thing is visible in the next grave on the left. These two arches are without doubt the remnants of barrel-vaults which originally covered the whole shafts. Whether the shaft below was filled with sand or not we cannot say. Ancient plunderers had removed the whole of the structures except the fragments here seen. Such an arrangement is only possible in shafts of the ledge type, but though we searched for the signs which such a roofing must leave, even when all its bricks have gone, we never found them. Apparently the custom did not find favour.

The bodies in these tombs were always in perfectly plain wooden coffins, which had been almost completely eaten through by white ants. In a few cases the coffin was not in a chamber, but in the shaft itself. The head was almost invariably towards the north by river reckoning, and the body was generally fully extended on the back, though in rare cases it was on the left side, either extended or with the legs slightly bent. A very common feature was a false wig of mud paste covering the head. This was naturally very brittle, and could seldom be seen in position. Pl. VII., fig. 4, however, gives a good example. In this case too, as in many others, there was also a mask of painted stucco over the face, of the small type usual in this period. Probably mask and wig were made in one piece and mounted on the same cloth, but as this last had been eaten away, it was no longer possible to be certain.

The following is a list of the shaft tombs. Where no statement is made to the contrary, the body is extended, supine, with the head local north, in a wooden coffin. The contraction ch. is used for chamber:—

S 21. Ch. to N. Female, mud wig. In filling of shaft an alabaster vase (Pl. X., fig. 6) and some dark blue glaze beads.

22. Shaft with wide ledge. Shaft 270×110 cm. at top, reduced to 220×55 cm. below ledge. Ch. to N. $200 \times 55 \times 70$ cm. Empty.

23. Unfinished.

25. Burial of adult in top of shaft, disturbed; bones of infant near pelvis. In coffin, where head should be, two vases, 25*a* and 25*b* (Pl. XXVIII.), and some spherical carnelian beads; with bones of child were discoid beads of carnelian, and barrel beads of blue glaze, together with a silver disc pierced in the centre. In the filling of the shaft were two vases of type 25*c* (Pl. XXVIII.). Of the vases, *a* and *c* are of fine red polished ware. The burial clearly belongs to the XIIth Dynasty, and is doubtless to be connected with the small mastaba which stands at the S. end of the shaft. Below are four ch., two at each end. In upper N. ch., female body on r. side, with small blue glaze discoid beads at neck. In lower N. ch., male body, prone. In upper S. ch., body with small blue glaze beads at l. wrist, and hippopotamus-head amulet in carnelian at neck. In lower S. ch., body with small blue glaze beads at neck.

26. Ch. to N. Male body. No finds.

27. Body in shaft, female. Two strings of small flat discoid beads of blue glaze round neck and behind shoulder-blades; at l. wrist, three strings of small blue glaze and carnelian beads.

28. Shaft $190 \times 60 \times 55$. Body in shaft.

The three following shafts belong to a ruined mastaba, to the south of which they lie, in the southern part of the cemetery.

36*a*. Four ch., two at each end. Upper S. ch. empty. In lower S. ch. no body; two small spherical amethyst beads, one carnelian lozenge-shaped bead, and two cylindrical beads of blue glaze. In upper N. ch., a pendant of white stone and one of carnelian; also amulets of blue glaze, including scarab, sacred eye, crown of Lower Egypt. Lower N. ch. empty.

36*b*. Never finished.

36*c*. Four ch. Upper S. ch. contained an untouched male burial. In lower S. ch., a few large spherical blue glaze beads and one long cylindrical. Two N. chs. fallen into one and plundered; two blue glaze beads, one spherical, one barrel-shaped.

The next three shafts belong to the great Mastaba N, which lies to the north of them.

38*a*. Ch. to N. Small pierced disc of gold and two beads.

38*b*. Ch. to N. Empty.

39. Four ch. Upper S. contained female body, slightly on r. side, with legs a little bent. In upper N. a similar burial, but male, and on l. side. In lower S. ch. an untouched female body. At the neck were the objects shown on Pl. IX., fig. 3, long cylindrical beads of glazed steatite, small ring beads of gold, a broken carnelian scarab, two barrel beads of carnelian, and the small blue glaze amulets &c. shown in the photograph; also pieces of an ivory pin, with a representation of a knot at one end. The lower ch. to N. had contained three burials, which were badly plundered. In the ch. were found small discoid beads of carnelian and shell, small spherical carnelian beads, two gold flies, drop pendants of haematite, carnelian and lapis paste, one large green glaze spherical bead, a minute scarab of green stone, and a green glaze hawk amulet.

62. Ch. to S., bricked up and intact. Green glaze scarab (Pl. XXXVII.), and small rounded discoid beads of carnelian, with very small discoid beads of dark blue glaze. In N. ch., body of young male.

63. Ch. to S. Female body on l. side. Small blue discoid beads at head.

The next three shafts belong to Mastaba M.

121. Ch. to N. Intact. Body, with fragments of mud wig.

122. Ch. to N. Intact. Female body, with few very small discoid beads of blue glaze.

123. This shaft fell in, and had to be abandoned as dangerous.

The next two belong to Mastaba I.

131. Four ch. Upper ch. to S., child's body, disturbed; discoid beads of carnelian and white shell, small spherical beads of blue glaze. Lower S. ch., two disturbed bodies. Upper ch. to N., empty. Lower ch. to N., male body on l. side.

132. Unfinished.

159. Ch. to S. Male body.

171*a*. Dangerous; abandoned.

171*b*. Unfinished.

The next two belong to Mastaba K.

173*a*. Ch. to S. Male body on l. side.

173*b*. Female body in shaft; small blue glaze discoid beads at neck.

175. Ch. to N. contained two burials, one above the other. Upper burial male, head missing; lower female, on l. side, with a few discoid beads at neck. S. ch., dangerous; abandoned.

The next three belong to Mastaba H.

190, 191 and 192. Each has a ch. to S. completely plundered.

193. Ch. to N. Empty.

194. Ch. to N., plundered from Shaft 285. On right ankle of body three strings of small blue glaze beads, one of larger ones, and a leg amulet of carnelian.

198. Unfinished.

199. Shallow shaft. Male body, disturbed, in shaft. Beneath it a somewhat earlier burial, on l. side. This last had been buried in an unbricked shaft. The shaft was afterwards re-used and lined with brick, which at the north end lay actually over the head of the earlier body.

258. No ch. Male body in shaft, on l. side, legs slightly bent.

260. Shaft without bricking. Female body, with string of blue glaze discoid beads round neck. At r. wrist one green glaze short cylindrical bead. Vase of type S 26 on Pl. XXVIII. over pelvis.

262. Ch. to S. Plundered.

The next two belong to Mastaba D.

268. Ch. to N. Completely plundered.

272. Ch. to N. Empty.

The next four, and probably also the fifth, belong to Mastaba E.

273 and 274. Unfinished.

275 and 276. Ch. to S. Plundered.

277. Unfinished.

The next three belong to Mastaba C.

281. Body at 60 cm. from top of shaft, supine, legs slightly bent. Another body, lower in shaft, with its head in the mouth of an empty ch. to N.

282. No ch. Plundered.

283. Ch. to N. Plundered.

The next two perhaps belong to the ruined Mastaba G.

284 and 285. Ch. to N. Plundered.

321 and 322. These are certainly the shafts of Mastaba F. But both are unfinished, and there is no sign of their ever having contained a burial. Unless we suppose a burial quite near the surface, every trace of which has disappeared, we must accept the conclusion that the mastaba was prepared, and the shafts begun, before the death of the prospective owner, who for some reason was buried elsewhere. There is of course nothing unusual in such an arrangement in Egypt.

323. Ch. to N. Plundered. Ch. to S., begun but never finished. This and 500 are the shafts of Mastaba AA.

340. Large shaft in the S. part of the plot, with six chambers. Upper N. and upper S. plundered. Middle S. plundered; a bowl of the usual thin buff ware (Pl. XXVIII.). In lower S. three women and a child; two of the women rather on the left side and with legs slightly bent, the other woman and the child extended on the l. side. From the extended adult body, a carnelian necklace; from one of the contracted bodies, a necklace of blue glaze beads (Pl. IX., fig. 8, centre), some discoid and a few cylindrical; from the other contracted body, a small vase of type S 25 *b* on Pl. XXVIII. Middle N. ch. plundered; blue glaze beads, thirteen large spherical, a few small spherical, and a few cylindrical. Lower S. ch. bricked up and intact. Female body, on l. side, legs bent; two carnelian amulets, one a heart, and the other an animal's head.

498. (Pl. VII., fig. 4.) Body in shaft, female, on l. side. One carnelian bead by the mouth. Vase of type S 498 (left) on Pl. XXVIII. Wig of mud, and stucco mask over face. Other vases (Pl. XXVIII.) in top of shaft.

500. Body in shaft. String of small glaze beads on l. ankle. This and 323 are the shafts of Mastaba AA.

The next two, and perhaps the third also, are the shafts of Mastaba BB.

501. Unfinished.

502 and 503. Ch. to S. Plundered.

Of the next ten shafts some belong to Mastabas A and B, but it is impossible to determine which.

509. Two ch. In N. ch., male body on l. side. One carnelian bead. S. ch. plundered.

510. Ch. to N. Body on l. side.

511. Ch. to S. Disturbed.

512. Ch. to S. Plundered.

513. Two ch. to N. In upper, no finds; in lower, an inlaid eye of obsidian and alabaster set in copper. Ch. to S.; empty.

514 to 517. All unfinished. If we assign 513 and 514 to Mastaba B, as is suggested by the fact that they are built in one group with 512, which certainly belongs to B, then we are left with none but unfinished shafts for A, and we have a parallel case to that of F.

519. Deep shaft, abandoned as unsafe.

The next three are the shafts of Mastaba DD.

520. Ch. to S. Plundered.

521. Ch. to N. and S. Empty.

522. Unfinished.

Fig. 13. Alabaster vase. S 570.

570. Originally closed with a barrel-vault (see above). Ch. to S.; empty. Alabaster vase (fig. 13 and Pl. X., fig. 17) in top of shaft.

571. Similar vaulting. Ch. to S., containing a few blue glaze cylindrical beads.

The following shafts are in the south part of the cemetery.

622. Lies with 623 to the S. of a ruined mastaba. In top of shaft the objects shown on Pl. X., fig. 13, viz. a rough flint, a shell, a blue glaze eye amulet, a large blue glaze spherical bead, and two pear-shaped pendants (flat beneath) of very fine light blue glaze. Also a smaller spherical bead and two cylindrical beads, all of blue glaze.

623. Ch. to N. and to S. No finds.

624. Four ch. Upper S. ch. gave a painted vase (Pl. XXVIII.), a blue glaze lion, pendant and spherical beads, a carnelian barrel bead, a cowrie, two spirally coiled earrings of lead, and a scaraboid (Pl. XXXVII.), its upper surface in the form of a sacred eye. In the shaft were the rest of the vases shown on Pl. XXVIII. All these objects probably belong to a re-burial during the Intermediate Period or early XVIIIth Dynasty. In the upper N. ch. were some blue glaze tubular beads and carnelian barrel beads. The lower chambers were extremely dangerous, and after two falls had to be abandoned. At the north end of the shaft stood the small mastaba mentioned above.

627. Ch. to N. and S. In the shaft a red polished bowl of pottery. N. ch. empty. In S. ch. the vase marked (wrongly) S 267 on Pl. XXVIII. and another similar to it, a rough flint, the lid of an alabaster kohl vase, a shell, a fragment of a fine black pottery vase with rivet holes for mending, two bracelets of thin silver wire, two blue glaze amulets, and blue glaze beads, short and long cylindrical, spherical, barrel- and drop-shaped, also biconical with slightly concave faces.

Other Tombs of about the XIIth Dynasty.

Scattered about among the shaft tombs were certain others which consisted merely of rectangular pits dug in the earth, often so shallow as not to penetrate beyond the wind-blown sand into the rock. Of these a certain number may, judging from the objects found in them, be ascribed to the XIIth Dynasty or thereabouts. Others, which, owing to the lack of objects, could not be dated, are doubtless of the same period, for they resemble the rest in every respect. The most notable of these tombs are as follows. They are oriented local north and south and the body lies extended on the back with head north, except where the contrary is stated.

S 12. Body of a girl, on l. side, with knees bent considerably. The objects found are shown on Pl. IX., fig. 6. At the neck the long necklace of blue glaze spherical beads, with a silver

disc as centre, and four cylindrical beads, two of glazed steatite and two of carnelian. At the wrists the two smaller strings of beads, half of which are in each case of carnelian and half of blue glaze, but the two varieties were not strung alternately. Near the chin was the small alabaster kohl pot, and on the left ear the small string of blue glaze beads.

20. Female body, with two strings of beads round neck, both of discoid blue glaze beads, smaller in one case than the other.

44. Female body, extended, on l. side. The objects are shown on Pl. IX., fig. 2, and Pl. X., fig. 11. The tall alabaster was at the chin, and the blue marble kohl pot at the left hand. At the neck was the long necklace of dull blue glaze beads, the long drop-shaped bead of fine dark blue glaze with a black spiral round it, the lozenge-shaped bead of carnelian, and the numerous blue glaze amulets. The small string of haematite beads was at the r. forearm, and the three scarabs, of blue glaze (Pl. XXXVII.), amethyst and black stone respectively, at the r. hand, together with the short string of miscellaneous beads. The small cylindrical object, made of a spiral of fine silver wire on a matrix of black material, was found in front of the face, and looks remarkably like a veil-holder. It was probably merely a pendant.

51. Grave 180 × 45 cm. Coffin 166 × 36 cm. Female body, extended, on l. side, with the hair in numerous fine plaits. In front of breast a small globular vase of pottery (Pl. XXVIII. and Pl. X., fig. 14), and before face a small alabaster kohl pot (Pl. XXVIII. and Pl. X., fig. 14). At the l. forearm a mass of decayed hair, which was perhaps a wig. At each ear was a ring of small discoid beads of dark blue glaze, and a string of the same hung round the neck and over the breast, with two cylindrical beads of glazed steatite and some spiral shells half ground down.

With these may be mentioned seven tombs which cannot be dated, but which may some of them belong to the XIIth Dynasty or even earlier. In all cases the bodies are considerably contracted.

11. Body with legs sharply bent and right arm bent, on l. side, head N. Wooden coffin 62 by 46 cm. Necklace of bright ultramarine-blue glaze spherical beads, with one barrel bead of wood (?) and a long drop-shaped pendant of alabaster. This belongs almost certainly to the Middle Kingdom.

20*a*. Child's body, with legs sharply bent, in wooden coffin; on l. side, head N.

24. Adult body, on r. side, tightly contracted, head N.; in wooden coffin. A few small blue glaze beads (? Old Kingdom).

95. Beneath a surface grave of late dynastic period. Female body, tightly contracted, and laid on back diagonally across the inside of a small wooden coffin.

136. Body in exactly similar position to the last, but with head south. Coffin measures 64 by 42 cm., and lies directly over Grave 137. This latter is a simple grave in the sand, containing a female body, on the left side, extended, head north, with a necklace of small blue glaze discoid beads. The beads are indistinguishable from those found in many of the shafts, and they, combined with the position, are sufficient to date the tomb to the XIIth Dynasty or just earlier. Tomb 136 is therefore of the XIIth Dynasty or later, and we are forced to the conclusion that survivals of the tightly contracted position occur even at this advanced era. It is owing to the evidence of this tomb that I have no confidence in suggesting an earlier date for the other tightly contracted burials now being described.

230. Lies directly over the 1st Dynasty tomb 231. Body of child, tightly contracted, on r. side, head N. Wooden coffin.

562. Lies beneath 561, which is not earlier than XVIIIth Dynasty. Body in wooden coffin, contracted, on left side, head N.

Contents of the XIIth Dynasty Graves.

As will be seen by a perusal of the above details, the tombs are by no means rich, and the funds available for burial seem to have been mainly employed on the mastaba and its shafts. The most important objects found were unquestionably the stelae (see Pls. XXIII.–XXV.), which are described in the chapter on the inscriptions. The majority of these were found in the late dynastic vault S 201, whither they had been thrown after being torn from their niches in the mastabas. From the battered condition of some of them it seems that they had been used to break open the great limestone coffins in that vault and others. The broken stela of Iuu, found in position in Mastaba H, has already been mentioned. It is of poor limestone, measuring 66 cm. in breadth (Pl. VI., fig. 5). Of its height only 40 cm. now remains. The framing and the hieroglyphs are in black, and the figures in red with black outlines, so that the stela when new must have presented a brilliant appearance. Two registers are still preserved. In the upper is a large seated figure of Iuu, with smaller figures of servants before and behind him. In the lower register are persons engaged in various tasks which it is now difficult to make out. On the left are two men carrying something, in the centre is a brewer (?), and on the right a butcher seems to be slaying a bull. Down the sides of the stela were the usual *niśwt ḥtp dì* prayers for offerings for Iuu.

Among the small objects there is little that is of great importance. The two early alabasters have already been mentioned. The pottery (Pl. XXVIII.) is very typical of the Middle Kingdom. The same may be said of the beads, of which a great number are of the large spherical blue glaze type. Smaller blue glaze spherical beads are also very common, and with these occur frequently discoid beads with rounded edges, which are always small, and sometimes, especially in the older part of the cemetery, quite minute. There is considerable variety in the colour of the glazes. In the earlier tombs they are always very dark and dull, but later the quality improves, and quite light blue varieties appear together with the rich darker colour so much admired. All the beads here referred to are made of an artificial preparation glazed over. The large cylindrical beads of green glazed steatite are much rarer, but good examples occur in S 39 (Pl. IX., fig. 3). The stones used for beads are amethyst, carnelian and haematite. Among other objects specially typical of the Middle Kingdom may be mentioned the lozenge-shaped bead of carnelian from S 44 (Pl. IX., fig. 2) and the long blue-and-black glaze bead from the same tomb, the amethyst and carnelian scarabs, the pear-shaped pendants (Pl. X., fig. 13), and the thin silver disc strung on a necklace (Pl. IX., figs. 6 and 8).

III.—Later Tombs in the Cemetery.

In late dynastic times a considerable number of brick-vaulted tombs were constructed in the cemetery, greatly to the detriment of the earlier tombs. Four of these are shown on the plan (fig. 8), but their description is reserved for Chapter VIII. In addition to these, however, there were a certain number of smaller tombs, consisting generally of mere cuttings in the surface sand, containing each a single body in a wooden coffin shaped to the human form. None of these are earlier than the XVIIIth Dynasty, and the majority are probably of the XXIInd and onward. They lie in no definite order, and their orientation is most variable. The following are the most important. In all cases the body is fully extended on the back, unless the contrary is stated.

S 29. Female body in shaped wooden coffin, with layer of clay over it; head S. Two deposits, one under head and one at wrists. The former is shown in position as it lay in Pl. VI., fig. 4. It consisted of a number of cowries and two large flat rings cut out of shells (Pl. X., fig. 8), a black steatite scarab, two green

glaze scarabs, and a third on an iron ring, nine uncut carnelians (Pl. IX., fig. 4, bottom row), five large blue glaze eye amulets, a disc of carnelian (convex on one face), some small light blue glaze figure amulets, and some barrel beads of stone and blue glaze. On the nose was a nose-ring of silver (?) (Pl. IX., fig. 4, top right corner). On each wrist were two bracelets, one of cowries (Pl. X., fig. 8, top row) and one of large spherical beads of glass and of carnelian with double strings of small blue glaze beads between them (Pl. IX., fig. 4). On the second finger of the left hand was a ring of odd beads (Pl. IX., fig. 4, top line, centre), at the third finger the five scarabs shown, strung as found, in the centre of the figure, and at the same finger, but not threaded with the other five, the scarab shown below them in the figure. Eight of these scarabs are drawn on Pl. XXXVII. One is of yellow stone, one of lapis paste, and the rest are of glaze. One (top row, centre) gives the name of Sheshonk I., and another (not drawn) that of Thothmes III. The tomb cannot thus be earlier than the beginning of the XXIInd Dynasty, and as the scarabs are of forms typical of that period, it is not likely to be much later.

31. Body in shaped wooden coffin, with layer of clay over lid; head E. On second finger of left hand the scarab of green glaze (Pl. XXXVII.).

49*b*. Body, head S., in shaped wooden coffin. Over breast a network of minute blue glaze beads and small shells; eye amulet of light blue glaze on the mouth. Also two Sekhmet figures, one Taurt, one seated Isis, and a figure of Horus' (?) head over a *menat* and surmounted by the disc. All these are in blue glaze. One *menat* of jasper. Of silver, a very small pectoral consisting of a lion's head surmounted by the disc, another of two lions joined in the middle, with the sun-disc above, and a chain of four links. At the hand a fine blue glaze scarab, with the name Senusret, in a bronze ring (Pl. XXXVII., S 49). Despite this name, the burial can hardly be earlier than the XXIInd Dynasty.

150. Body, head N., in shaped wooden coffin. At left hand the green glaze scarab (Pl. XXXVII.) with figure of Bez (cf. S 29).

253. Female body in shaped wooden coffin; head E. Bracelet of blue discoid beads on each forearm (Pl. IX., fig. 10). Large blue glaze eye amulet at feet; double string of blue glaze beads at neck. Under the head the following: forty-eight ground cowries and three other shells, all threaded into a kind of network, two blue glaze eye amulets, two blue glaze barrel beads, two biconical beads of carnelian, two spherical beads of light yellowish glass paste, an uncut carnelian, one large blue glaze spherical bead, a short cylindrical blue glaze bead, a jasper pendant, and two plain lead earrings.

255. Body of a dog, head W.; no coffin.

256. The same, head S.

267. Body of baby, head E. On right ankle a ring of small blue glaze discoid beads and a string of cowries. On the breast the blue glaze plaque (Pl. XXXVII.).

324. Female body in plain rectangular coffin; head S. Under head a green glaze scarab of Thothmes III. (Pl. XXXVII.).

484. Female body, head E., in shaped wooden coffin. Three cowries and the objects shown on Pl. IX., fig. 7. The cat is of rich blue stone, possibly lapis lazuli, and the other objects of blue glaze.

Such are the most important of these later surface tombs. It is not possible to fix accurately the date of this re-using of the cemetery, for it doubtless extends over a long period. The few tombs which yielded datable material seem to point to the XXIInd Dynasty and onward. None of the graves can be shown to be earlier than that date.

CHAPTER V.

CEMETERY D.

Nature of Cemetery D.

Cemetery D is that part of the Abydos necropolis which lies immediately to the north of the Coptic Dêr. It was first attacked in 1911–12, but the greater part of it we reserved for the next season, and the tombs of the IVth, XIIth, and XVIIIth Dynasties found there have been described in *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III. Of the tombs excavated in the earlier season few are of any importance. In this part of the cemetery there were no tombs of the IVth Dynasty, the oldest burials dating from the early Middle Kingdom. To this period belong the numerous narrow shafts with their equally narrow chambers, often two and occasionally even three at each end of the shaft. These tombs differed in nothing except their poverty from those of the same period detailed in *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III.; and as most of them had been disturbed, and yielded nothing beyond a few large spherical blue glaze beads, to describe them all would serve no useful purpose. The few which do deserve description are as follows :—

D 9. Shaft measuring 230 × 80 cm. and 630 cm. deep. At 110 cm. from the top there was a ridge, and the shaft was restricted to 200 × 50 cm. There were three chambers at the north end and only one at the south, this being at the same level as the uppermost north chamber. In the upper north chamber (250 × 60 × 90 cm.) were found a blue marble pendant, four carnelian beads, one tubular blue glaze bead, and a flattened barrel bead of dark blue glaze with small fragments of lighter blue glaze frit fused in round the body (Pl. IX., fig. 11). In the north chamber below this (150 × 50 × 100 cm.) nothing was found. The lowest chamber (210 × 102 × 100 cm.) was bricked up and intact. The female body was extended, supine, with the head north. As this chamber was almost below the water-level, there was some difficulty in observing the exact position of the objects, but it was quite clear that they all lay close to the head. They are all shown on Pl. IX., fig. 5, and Pl. X., figs. 12, 15, and 16. They consist of a copper mirror, five small pottery vases, one small limestone(?) vase, three alabasters, all very rough and perhaps cut down from earlier vases, a shell, small discoid beads of white shell, and small rounded discoid and large spherical beads of carnelian. The latter made a particularly fine string, shown on Pl. IX., fig. 5.

The south chamber, measuring 230 × 50 × 80 cm., had been plundered, and yielded rounded discoid and large spherical beads of carnelian, large spherical beads of blue glaze, and a single bead of dark blue glass with white "eyes" and blue centres. According to received notions it is impossible that this last bead should date from the XIIth Dynasty. It is, however, singular that in this tomb there is not a single sign, with this exception, of the chambers having been re-used at a later date, for all the other objects found are certainly of the Middle Kingdom. There is a curious parallel to this in the tomb D 109 (*Cemeteries of Abydos*, III., p. 24), where three similar eye beads of glass with yellow centres to the eyes were found in a grave of the Middle Kingdom, which showed no sign of re-occupation at a later date. At the same time the evidence of two disturbed tombs is not sufficiently strong to weigh against the complete

absence of such beads in untouched tombs of the Middle Kingdom. It only suggests that we should keep our minds open on the point, and watch for further evidence.

D 75. Bodies of a man and a woman, supine, extended, in wooden coffins in a surface grave; heads north. The woman lay to the east. At her wrists were large numbers of beads, blue glaze spherical, light and very dark blue glaze tubular, small discoid of blue glaze, and a few of carnelian; also some amulets of blue glaze.

D 77. Body in surface sand, badly disturbed. Various amulets, a heart in blue glaze, a sphinx, a lion and a hippopotamus head in green felspar and three hippopotamus heads in carnelian, a barrel bead of carnelian and two of amethyst, and a tubular bead of blue glaze; also a small pendant of amethyst (Pl. IX., fig. 9).

D 79. Shaft with chamber to north; body disturbed. An ivory mirror-handle, pierced shells, three flat pear-shaped pendants of slate, dark blue glaze barrel beads, and minute blue glaze discoid beads.

On Pl. IX., fig. 8, top and bottom, are shown two strings of fine blue glaze beads from D 4.

The Coptic Chapels.

The only other tombs of any interest in this part of Cemetery D are two vaulted brick tombs of about the XVIIIth Dynasty, which in the Coptic period were remodelled and used as chapels. I quote Mr. Droop's description of them *in extenso*.

"D 68. The first, D 68, consists of a single rectangular vaulted chamber entered through a door leading out of a shaft lying to the south. In the Coptic period the old burials were cleared out and the whole internal structure altered (fig. 14). In the first place a staircase with a bend at right angles was inserted in the shaft (Pl. XII., fig. 5). The three lower steps were built up solid, but the four upper rested on a slanting block of limestone under which there was a space. The staircase was entered at the south end of the east side of the shaft. The stairs were of mud brick, but their surfaces were paved with thin rough slabs of limestone.

The doorway leading from the shaft into the chapel proper was 139 cm. high and only 47

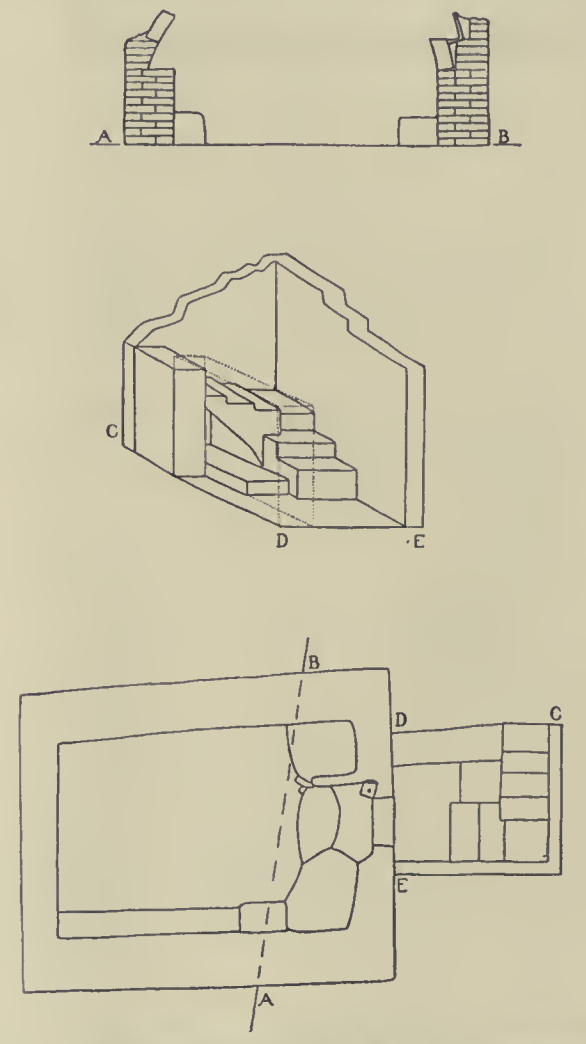


Fig. 14. Coptic chapel, D 68. Scale $\frac{1}{25}$. Section, perspective drawing of staircase, and plan.

across. It had been arched above. The door itself, probably of wood, was pivoted at the east side and opened inwards. It clearly worked on a vertical support which rested below on a square slab of limestone, hollow in the centre, and turned above in the neck of a pottery vase set into the arching. Two steps led down to the floor of the chapel. Round the west side ran a

low and narrow bench of mud brick, rising towards the south end into a kind of seat, 30 cm. high (Pl. XII., fig. 5). In the west wall, cut in the thickness of the vaulting, were three shallow niches at different levels. In the centre of the north wall were two niches, one almost on the floor level and the other directly above. The two are now broken into one another, and their combined height is 105 cm. In the east wall, which was naturally the most important, were no less than five niches at varying heights (fig. 15). Finally, to the east of the two steps, i.e. behind the door when it was opened, was a covered recess of irregular shape. The whole of the vaulting and the walls with their niches were covered with a thick coating of mud, and this

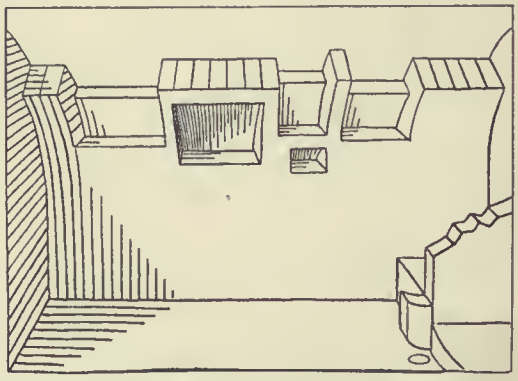


Fig. 15. Sketch of east wall of D 68, showing position of niches. Scale $\frac{1}{50}$.

was concealed by a thin layer of whitewash. The flooring was of pinky cement very carefully smoothed. The chapel contains no inscriptions.

D 69. This tomb, like D 68, was converted into a chapel by the Copts. Originally it consisted of two vaulted chambers to the north and south (local) of a central shaft. The vaulting was double, and in the case of the northern chamber (which alone could be observed accurately) had this peculiarity that the bricks of the outer layer were laid not on edge but flat, i.e. with their sides resting against the edges of the bricks of the inner course.

The bricks used were rather small, measuring from 30 × 12 cm. to 15 × 7 cm. Chips of limestone and small potsherds were mixed with the mud that served for mortar. The whole construction was probably plastered with mud inside and out, and the virgin sand formed the floor.

When the tomb was converted into a chapel a plaster floor was laid above the virgin sand in both chambers, the level being raised about 30 cm. (fig. 16). The whole of the interior was coated with white plaster, varying in thickness but never thinner than 2 mm. This was laid on an inner coating of mud. Round the northern chamber, up to a height of 75 cm., ran a kind of dado of thicker plaster projecting 1 cm. from the wall. The northern chamber measured 4·55 × 2·25 m., having been slightly lengthened by the cutting away of part of the thickness of the south wall. In the north wall and both of the side walls niches were cut right into the vaulting, the inner course being removed in all cases, and in the three deeper examples part of the outer course as well.

The niche in the middle of the north wall was 43 cm. high, 45 wide, 24 deep, and stood 91 above the floor. In this wall were fixed two thigh-bones, from which lamps were probably hung.

In the east wall were four niches. The first, 195 cm. from the north wall, was 30 cm. wide, 35 high in front, 20 high at the back, 17 deep, and 120 from the floor.

The third, 365 cm. from the north wall, was 26 cm. wide, 19 deep, 21 high, and 121 from the floor.

The fourth was cut in the south-east corner, with a curved back. It was 38 cm. high in front, 50 wide, 30 deep, and 96 above the floor.

The second niche, by far the most important, was without doubt the altar. It was 2·83 m. from the north wall, 1·82 m. high in front, with a curved back, 28 cm. deep, and 49 cm. wide (see fig. 17).

Beneath it was a projection of the wall, 2 cm. thick, measuring in height 70 cm., and in width 1·28 m. along the lower edge, and 1·11 m. along the upper. On this, exactly beneath the niche,

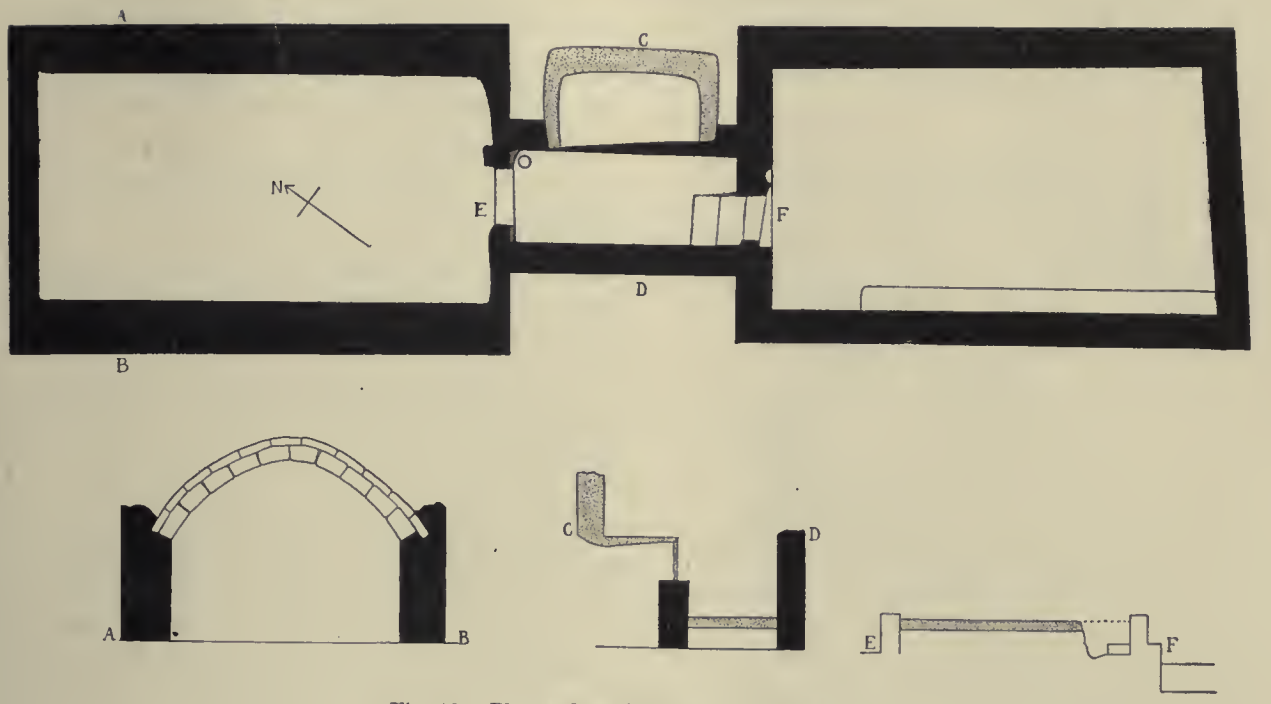


Fig. 16. Plan and sections of D 69. Scale $\frac{1}{75}$.

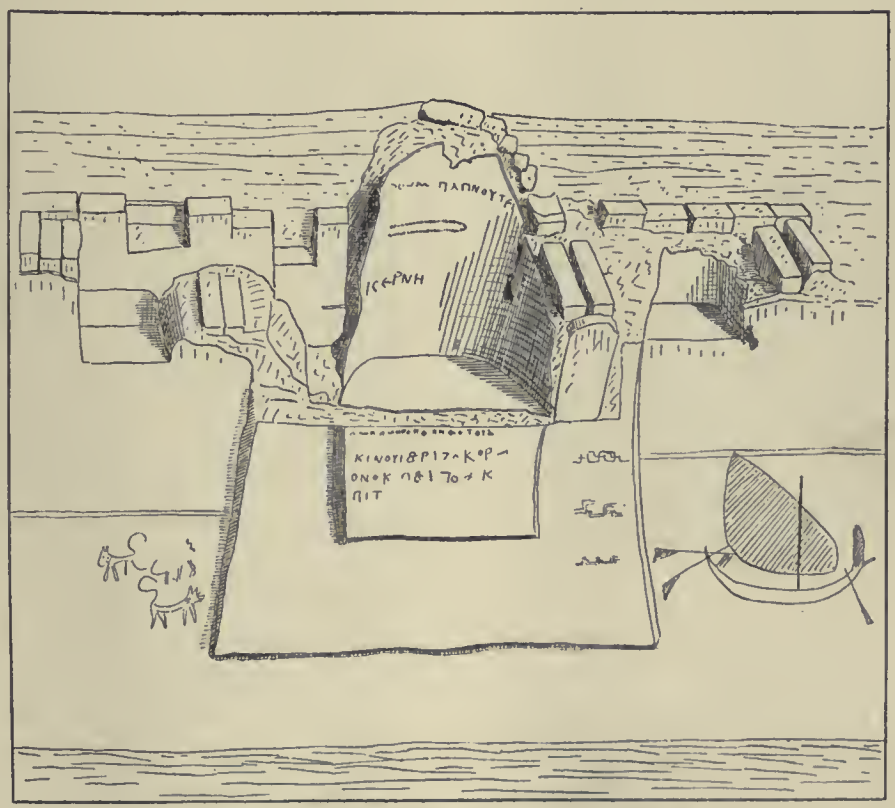


Fig. 17. Drawing of east wall of D 69. Scale $\frac{1}{20}$.

was a further projection of the same thickness, 49 cm. wide and 40 high. Both projections had bevelled edges (fig. 17).

Fig. 18. Drawing on wall of D 69. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

On the back of this niche, on the wall at either side of it, and on the smaller projections were painted in red and black inscriptions in the Coptic language (Pl. XXII., fig. 5).

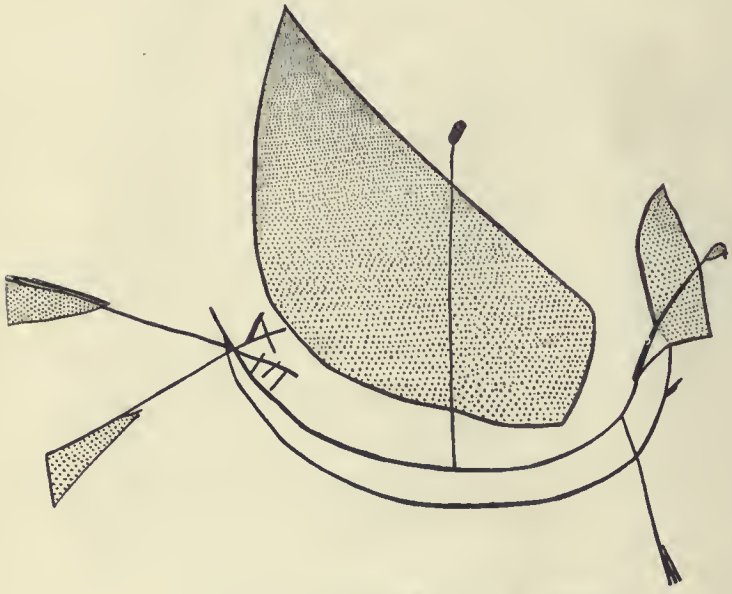


Fig. 19. Drawing on wall of D 69. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.

On the wall to the left of the large projections were three scrawled drawings of animals possibly meant for lions (fig. 18). To the right was a more careful drawing of a ship (fig. 19) rigged with a mast amidships, a square sail, and two steering-oars, but with the same high prow that is typical of the Nile boats to-day. The south wall was much broken, a not surprising result of the removal of a third of its thickness. Close by the door, to the left, the original thickness of the wall formed a projection 22 cm. wide. To the right of the doorway, which was 55 cm. wide, were slight traces of a raised seat about 16 cm. high (not marked in the plan).

The west wall had one niche, not far from the south end, at a height of 70 cm. Its depth was 22 cm., but the upper part and the northern end were broken away.

The southern chamber measured 4·38 × 2·52 m. This vault was apparently enlarged by the removal of the whole of the inner course of vaulting, except the lower portion of the east side. Hence it was not possible to ascertain the exact details of the original roofing. The course that was visible, presumably the outer, was laid in the way usual for the inner; that is to say, the system here was probably the same as that used for E 440 (Chapter VIII.). This chamber had no niches, but along the west wall ran a low ledge, 21 cm. wide and 10 high, with a bevelled edge.

In the southern wall, again, were two human thigh-bones inserted as pegs.

To the right of the doorway, which was 45 cm. wide, was a semi-circular recess, the purpose of which is not clear.

The entrance, the original shaft, which measured 2·20 × ·90 m., had been much pulled about. The actual thresholds, 17 cm. wide, were built up to a height of 29 cm. on the original thresholds, which were ·35 m. wide. In the southern chamber part of the original threshold was left as a step, but this does not exist in the northern chamber in consequence of the paring of the wall.

The shaft was floored with baked bricks covered with white plaster at a height only 8 cm. below the new threshold. Some later construction, which is not clear, seems responsible for

the squared block, measuring 48 × 25 × 11 cm., lying 28 cm. below the threshold on the inside, for there are marks in the plaster of the side wall that make it certain that originally the brick flooring extended over the whole. The small wall to the east of this block, as well as the rectangular aperture to the north of it, belong to the same reconstruction (fig. 16).

To the east of the northern door is a hole, 13 cm. in diameter, forming the socket in which the door swung.

The purpose served by the platform to the east of the shaft is not clear. It stands at a height of 80 cm. from the floor, and measures 1·42 m. in width and ·75 in depth. The floor is a thin layer of mud resting on sand; the back wall, standing to a height of 60 cm., consisted of one course of bricks laid across, and the side walls of one course laid sidewise. The fragile nature of the construction precludes the idea that it formed a means of access.

The projection in the wall beneath it is caused by the broken top of the original wall of the shaft (fig. 16, Section CD)."

To this description there is little to be added. The inscriptions on the east wall of D 69 are shown in fig. 20. No. 2 is in red ink, the rest in black. They read as follows:—

1. Apa Thomas, the man of God.

2. O Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Jesus the Christ, our mother Mary, Apa Michael, Amen.

3. . . . . *papa*[1] Serne (?).

4. O Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

5. O God, do thou love. I am the . . . . . Isaac (?).

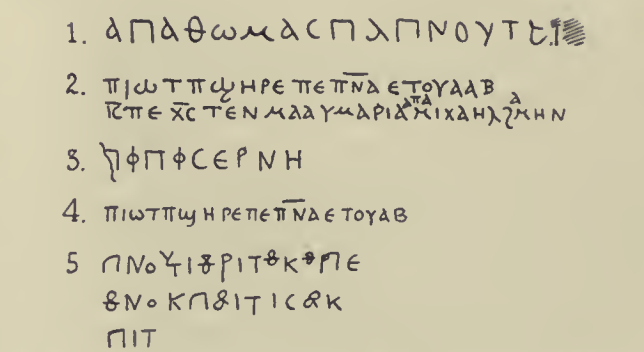


Fig. 20. Coptic inscriptions in the chapel, D 69 (not in facsimile).

It is not possible to say what the purpose of these chapels was. From the finding of two within a few yards of one another it seems probable that each was dedicated to or connected with a single saint. There are a number of Coptic burials in the neighbourhood.

Another chapel of somewhat similar type was found and cleared by Garstang a few years ago. It lies immediately behind the Coptic Dêr, and has been fitted with a locked door to preserve it. The only other chapel in Abydos, so far as I know, is the much larger and more complicated one excavated by Ayrton and Loat in 1908.[2] It is built in brick over the ruins of a temple of Thothmes III., not far to the north of the great Rameses temple on the edge of the cultivation. Though small, it deserves the name of a church, and even contains slight remains of fresco work, but it has suffered sadly since its excavation.

[1] For the title *papa*, see *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III., p. 39, and references there given.

[2] Mentioned in *Archaeological Report*, 1908–9.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NORTH CEMETERY.

As was pointed out in the Introduction, the North Cemetery consists mainly of tombs of the Middle Kingdom and Intermediate Period, the earlier lying for the most part in its more northerly portion. Before the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty the whole region was completely occupied, except the western portion near the Neferhotep stela. The consequence is that almost all burials of the XVIIIth Dynasty and later are intrusive, that is to say, the bodies have been placed in older shafts after the original occupants had been turned out. It will therefore be convenient to divide our chapter into four portions dealing with the Middle Kingdom, the Intermediate Period, the XVIIIth Dynasty and the later dynasties respectively.

I.—Burials of the Middle Kingdom.

To this period belong a series of graves lying directly west of the "Middle Fort." They are mostly surface graves, and are characterized by the occurrence of the vases Pl. XXVIII., S 567. The body is laid supine, or slightly on the left side, with the head to the north. These graves yielded nothing except the vases already mentioned and a few beads.

Close by them were the two intact shafts G 6 and G 7. These were narrow and had no brick facing, and were oriented local north and south. In G 6 the body was in a chamber off the north end. It lay in a supine position with the head to the left. Round the neck was a single string of carnelian beads, and a gold pendant representing the crown of Lower Egypt over the *neb*-sign. Above the breast and under the back ran two strings of very fine discoid beads, one of blue glaze and the other of shell. The other grave, G 7, contained nothing but the body.

To this period belong probably all the graves in K, L and N, together with M 2. This last is a small shaft with two chambers to the north and one to the south. All were plundered, but the south chamber gave an interesting set of beads and amulets. The beads were spherical or biconical in form, and were of amethyst, carnelian, and dark blue glaze. Among the amulets were two sphinxes, one of amethyst and one of green felspar, six hawks of green felspar, and one of carnelian (Pl. X., fig. 9).

K 2, on the other hand, is a shallow trench grave which had been plundered out. In the filling were found six amulets of green felspar. Two of these were sphinxes, one a hawk, one a lion, and two were apes (Pl. X., fig. 10).

The rest of the tombs in K, L and N had been completely plundered. They were all of one type, namely very narrow shafts with two, three, or four chambers, each just large enough to hold a coffin.

The shafts of Group A were also originally cut in the Middle Kingdom; but as they had been completely plundered and afterwards re-used for burials in the early XVIIIth Dynasty they are treated under Section III. of this chapter.

II.—Burials of the Intermediate Period.

The tombs of this period lie for the most part on the south extremity of the cemetery near the edge of the valley in which the old Fund house lies. They are for the most part shaft tombs,

often of rather large dimensions, with from one to four chambers. They are oriented north and south by river reckoning, and in the better examples the upper part of the shaft is lined with brickwork. The chamber is as a rule simply cut in the rock, though in rare cases weak spots in the walls have been strengthened with bricks. Occasionally, too, there is a rough stone doorway to the chamber formed by two side-posts and a lintel, all of limestone.

In one tomb, B 57 (fig. 21), which may, however, be of rather later date, we have an unusually complicated series of chambers and

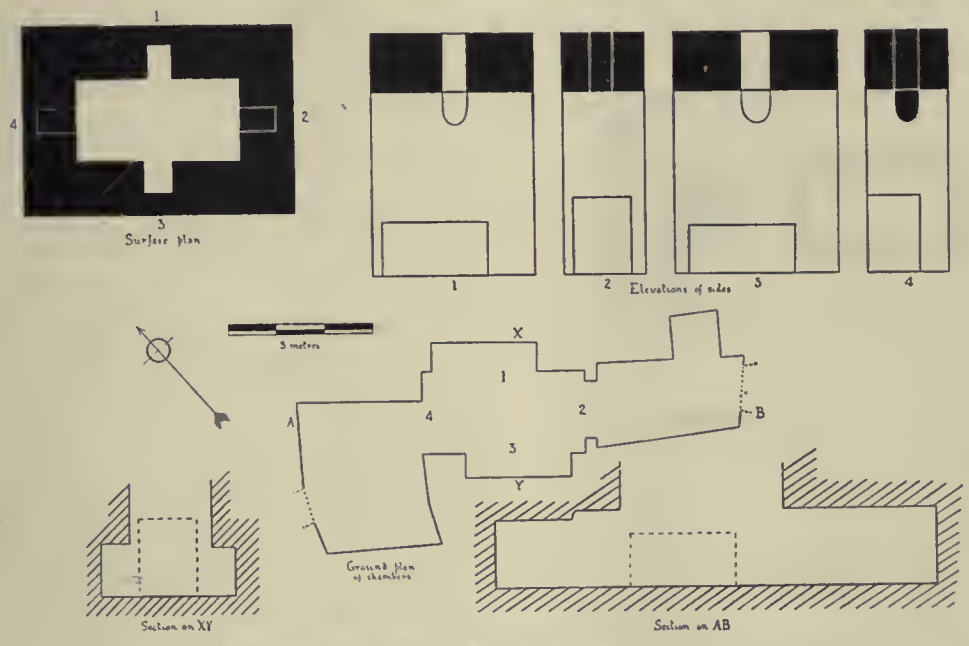


Fig. 21. Plans, sections, and elevations of Tomb B 57.

recesses, clearly shown in the plan. The upper part of the shaft was of curious form, for it had four recesses in the thick bricking, two of which, those at the sides, were left open, while the other two, those at the ends, were built up solid. I have no suggestion to make as to their purpose (see Pl. XI., fig. 6).

The Superstructures.

We have seen in Chapter IV. that the typical mastaba of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos was a simple chamber with an entrance in the east side. We also found that in Cemetery E there was one example of a solid block mastaba dating from about the VIth Dynasty, but we could point to no examples of this in the XIIth Dynasty. This being the case, it is curious to find that all the mastabas of the graves of the Intermediate Period excavated by us are of the block and not the open form. As a rule they are of a very simple type. A series of small examples found in the region of the great tomb C 81 are almost certainly to be assigned to this period. Each consists of a solid rectangular brick structure about four or five courses in height, plastered and whitewashed outside, and having a very slight batter. Seven examples are marked on the plan of C 81 (fig. 37). The indications of date are rather indefinite. In the first place they are probably all earlier than C 81. This follows from an examination of the point where C 83 touches the great ramp. At the place of contact the whitewashed plaster of the mastaba is intact, whereas the ramp is not plastered at this point, though everywhere else it is. This means that when the ramp was built Mastaba C 83 was already there, and the ramp passed so close to it that there was no room to insert the plaster. The plaster of the ramp was therefore finished

off on the mastaba on the two corners of meeting. This shows that C 83 was earlier than the ramp, and it seems natural that the other similar mastabas of the group should also be earlier.

But how much earlier it is difficult to say. Three of the mastabas, C 82, 83 and 85, had each a trench grave to the south, and C 86 had a bricked shaft, also to the south; but all four graves were completely empty and yielded not a single object. Mastabas 87, 88 and 89 seem to have no graves attached to them, and the most careful search revealed nothing to the north, south, or east of them. Possibly 88 and 89 are secondary mastabas to Shaft 86.

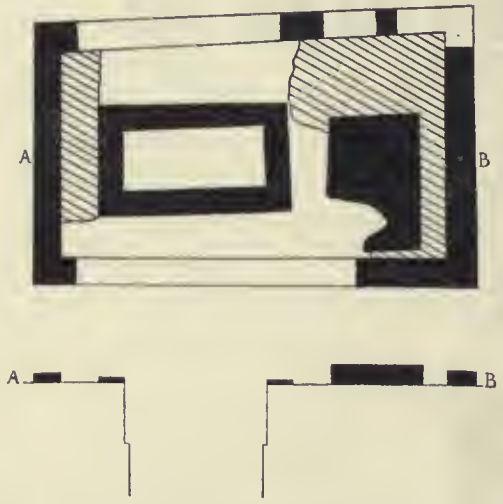


Fig. 22. Plan and section of Shaft C 3 with its superstructure. Scale $\frac{1}{150}$.

The only grave which gave any evidence at all was C 84. No mastaba can be definitely connected with this, but it was almost certainly of the same date as the mastabas, both from its position and from its complete similarity to C 86. It had been badly plundered, but the objects which it yielded included a vase of red pottery with white spots, a barrel bead of dark blue glaze with fragments of lighter glaze fused on to it, and the two mud pyramids (Pl. XV., fig. 8). These objects, together with the position of the graves in the cemetery, point clearly to the Intermediate Period.

This dating is confirmed by two tombs of rather more elaborate type, C 3 and C 6. Here, the well-bricked shaft is surrounded by a brick-paved court which has a low wall. At the south end of this, and built up near (in C 3) or even against (in C 6) the wall, is a small solid mastaba of brick (see plans, figs. 22 and 23). C 6, the better

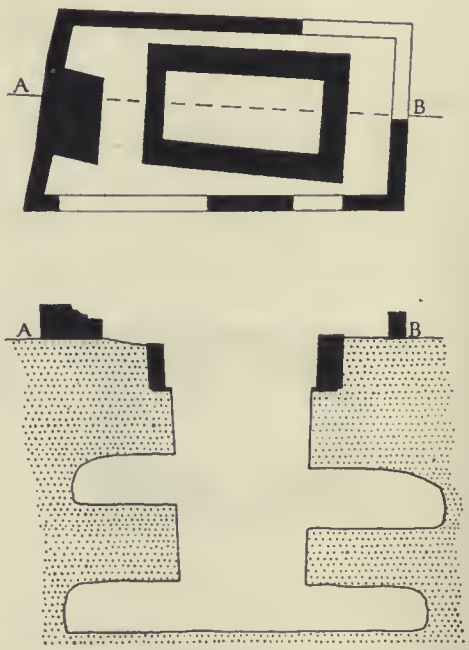


Fig. 23. Plan and section of Shaft C 6 and its superstructure. Scale $\frac{1}{150}$.

preserved of the two shafts, had two chambers to north and two to south. Both tombs had been completely plundered, but in C 6 there remained objects sufficient to date the tomb. These included part of a small plaster mask, part of a mud sealing of a scarab with spiral border (fig. 24), and a small black-topped red polished vase of "pan" ware. These all point to a date not much later than the XIIth Dynasty.

Fig. 24. Portion of impression on mud of a scarab (C 6). Scale $\frac{1}{1}$.

It is not likely that the block mastaba completely ousted the open type in the Intermediate Period, for we find the latter still in use in the XVIIIth Dynasty in a form which is certainly a direct development of the Middle Kingdom

type. Thus Garstang assigned to the XIIth or XIIIth Dynasty a mastaba which consisted of the ordinary chamber with a single antechamber added,[1] and this form, further complicated by the addition of a long side chamber, is found in the XVIIIth Dynasty.[2] During the XVIIIth Dynasty these types were further developed, and we have as a result the elaborate series of mastabas with pit and court excavated by Mace in the portion of this cemetery near the Neferhotep stela, dating from the XVIIIth to XXIst Dynasties. These are clearly direct descendants of the single open chamber mastaba of the Middle Kingdom. We can, however, catch just a possible trace of the contamination of this development by the influence of a parallel development of the block mastaba. For in several of the elaborate mastabas figured by Mace there is a small solid block of masonry built on to the back of the mastaba proper, seemingly without any real purpose.[3]

The history of the block mastaba is thus as follows. It appears first in the VIth Dynasty, where it is derived from the earlier small mastabas[4] merely by the omission of the niches and the substitution of a solid core of brick for one of sand. From the VIth to XIIth Dynasties there is little trace of it at Abydos, though it must be borne in mind that the number of mastabas preserved is not large. In the Intermediate Period it is frequent, and there seems to be a reminiscence of it in the XIXth Dynasty. After this there is no trace of it for a long period. It reappears, however, over certain trench graves of the Roman period behind the temenos of the Seti temple. In these a small solid rectangular mastaba is built directly over the trench and covered with whitewash. There is, however, no evidence to prove that this manifestation is a continuation of the fashion of the Intermediate Period, and not the resuscitation of a custom long dead.

[1] *El Arabah*, Pl. xxxii., E 21.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, E 193.

[3] *El Amrah and Abydos*, Pl. xxvi., figs. 1 and 4, and page 64. None of the examples are earlier than the XIXth Dynasty, yet I am inclined to see in them the influence of a mastaba form such as that of C 3 and C 6 continuing into this later period.

[4] *E.g.* those of the IVth Dynasty. See *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III., ch. ii.

Description of the Tombs.

B 13. The most important grave of this period was B 13. It consisted of a deep rectangular shaft with two chambers to the north and one to the south (section, fig. 25). In the top of the shaft were found six miniature vases and two cakes of clay (Pl. XIV., fig. 14). The highest chamber was at the north end of the shaft and had been completely plundered

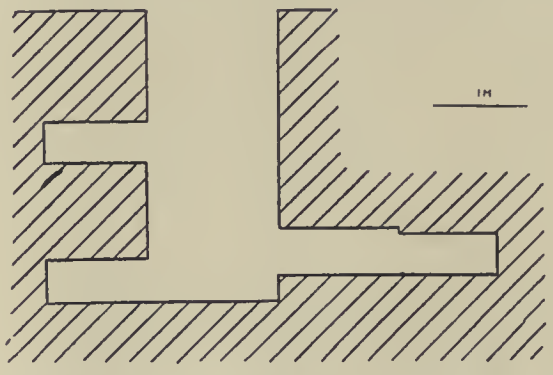


Fig. 25. Section on north and south line of B 13.

out, except for the bowls of fine ochre pottery with lattice design in red paint (Pl. XXIX., top row). Lower down were two more chambers, one at each end of the shaft. Both were empty, but much of their contents was scattered in the shaft itself. Thus, outside the south chamber lay in the east corner of the shaft two *shabti* figures of Rensonb (Pl. XIII., fig. 3). They are of limestone, finely cut. The wigs are covered with a powdery blue paint and the features painted in black. The hieroglyphs are rather roughly cut out and filled with blue paint. With the *shabtis* was a small fragment of a wood and stucco sarcophagus with yellow hieroglyphs on a black ground. At about the same level in the shaft were numerous fragments of pottery

from which it was possible to restore completely only one vase, a fine specimen of black ware with white incised decoration (Pl. XIII., fig. 8, centre). Just below the level of the lower chambers the stratum of firm rock ended and a crumbly conglomerate took its place. In this was roughly cut under the east side of the shaft a long chamber carefully bricked up, which had apparently been missed by the plunderers. In it lay the extended body of a woman, on its left side, head north, in a badly ruined coffin of wood covered with stucco. With this were the three alabaster vases figured in fig. 26 and Pl. XIII., fig. 9. The kohl pot with its stick was under the head, the small flask with scalloped neck was above the left wrist, and the third vase was by the left ankle. Above the left hand was a very fine blue glaze scarab

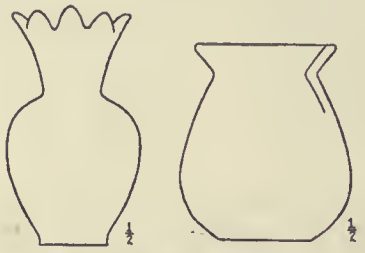


Fig. 26. Alabaster vases, B 13*a*.

(Pl. XXXVII., and Pl. XIII., fig. 10) bearing the private name *S?-ip*. The cutting in which this burial lay extended beyond the north end of the shaft parallel to and rather below the level of the lower north chamber. In this extension was a fine wooden coffin, only partially decayed, containing an extended body, on the left side, head north, with no objects at all. The lid of the coffin had been raised as far as the roof of the chamber would allow, and everything of value had been removed.

The structure of the south chamber was interesting. It consisted of an outer and an inner portion. The outer measured 225 × 165 × 102 cm. The inner was much narrower, measuring 210 × 80 × 95. Up against its east wall, at a distance of 55 cm. from its south end, was sunk in the floor a pit 60 × 35 × 38 cm. This probably contained the Canopic box with its four jars (see next tomb).

B 22. Shaft, 285 × 100 cm.; chamber to south, 200 × 140 cm., with entrance only 80 cm. wide. Along the east wall lay the remains of a wooden coffin inscribed with the name of the steward Intef (fig. 27). West of this and in the centre of the south wall were the remains of a Canopic box of painted wood, divided into four portions for the four jars. Lower in the shaft were two empty chambers, one at each end.

C 3. Shaft with a superstructure described above. Chambers empty. Piece of glaze inlay with three *neter* signs in top of shaft.

C 6. Shaft with a superstructure described above. Two chambers to north and two to south. In upper north chamber two kohl sticks, one of wood and one of ivory. In upper south, a broken lid from a Canopic jar of limestone. In lower north, painted stucco eye from a small mask. In lower south, part of a wooden headrest, a sealing on mud (fig. 23), part of a *shabti*, and three of the vases shown on Pl. XXIX., the two lower vases in the left column being from the shaft. Of the vases from the chamber the upper in the left column is of the so-called pan ware, hand made, with a poorly polished red surface turning into black towards the rim. The small dish is of unpolished red ware with a white cross on the upper side.

C 12. Shaft, chambers empty. In the shaft the dish shown on Pl. XXIX., second row, of the usual rough red ware, and pieces of a fine incised black flask of the type found in B 13 (Pl. XIII., fig. 8).

C 13. Body of an old man, supine, extended, head north, face to west, in surface sand. Plain wooden coffin. Each limb wrapped in several

thicknesses of coarse linen. Over the face a small painted stucco mask, and under the face a fine ochre bowl with reddened rim.

C 51. Shaft, 305 × 120 cm. Two chambers to north, empty, and one to south. In the last the following objects: an ivory wand in the form of a curved arm, part of a second, broken alabaster vase, small uninscribed carnelian scarab, discoid beads of shell and of gold, three drop-shaped beads of blue glazed rock crystal.

C 52. Shaft, 285 × 100 cm.; two chambers to north and two to south. In the shaft, fragments of painted wooden coffin and of an ivory wand. Upper north chamber empty, except for fragments of coffin. Lower north contained remains of three bodies, out of position, an alabaster kohl pot (Pl. XIII., fig. 6), a pair of copper tweezers, and the pottery shown on Pl. XXIX., with the exception of the large vase. In upper south chamber, remains of three bodies, fragments of alabaster vase and ivory wand (Pl. XIII., fig. 6), pieces of ivory and ebony inlay, small kohl pot of black stone fitted with an alabaster pedestal, broken amethyst scarab, small carnelian scarab, drop-shaped pendant of alabaster, discoid beads of shell, small spherical beads of blue glaze. In lower south chamber, two copper ear-rings and three plain Canopic jars of pottery (Pl. XXIX., the large vase). These were of very unusual ware. They were wheel-made, of very fine mud-coloured clay containing small particles of chopped straw; they were washed over before firing with a fine slip of pinkish-brown clay. Despite the fact that they were unpolished, these vases had a smoother and more regular surface than any other Egyptian wares known to me.[1] After the firing they had been rather carelessly washed over with white-wash, evidently to give them the appearance of stone.

C 56. Shaft with chamber to north and to south. In the shaft was the vase shown in the top left-hand corner of Pl. XXIX. It is of unbaked sun-dried mud containing small fragments of straw and of carbonized wood. It is, despite its coarseness, wheel made. Inside it is decorated in the manner shown, by thin lines which look as if made with a piece of chalk. It is now in the Ashmolean Museum. The surface is smoothed both inside and out, except at the base on the outside. In the south chamber were several fragments of an incised vase of pan ware. The vase is hand made with thin but uneven walls. It is of the material used for the rougher pan ware of this period (cf. C 64 below), but the surface has very little polish. The form seems to have been a tall bowl with hemispherical bottom and very high walls sloping inwards a little. About a centimetre below the rim a furrow ran round the vase, and below this the whole outer surface except the base was covered with a lattice pattern, incised with a blunt point before the clay was dry. The upper part of the vase is, as usual, black (Pl. XV., fig. 12).

Fig. 27. Inscription from sarcophagus, B 22. Scale ¼.

C 63. Shaft, 270 × 100 × 350 cm. Chamber to north and to south. In the south chamber, 220 × 100 × 95 cm., were a hemispherical bowl

[1] They are in reality peculiarly fine examples of Class A 1 (see below, section on the pottery).

of fine ochre ware and a few discoid shell beads. The north chamber, 215 × 100 × 95 cm., was empty. In the shaft were the vases shown on Pl. XXIX. All are of soft ochre ware with, in some cases, a band of red paint round the rim; the two hemispherical bowls and the broad tubular pot are of much thinner ware than the rest.

C 64. Shaft with chamber to north and to south. In the shaft, white discoid beads of shell and barrel-shaped beads of dark blue and of light blue glaze. In the north chamber two vases, shown in the top right-hand corner of Pl. XXIX. The upper is of pan ware and is described fully in the section on the pottery

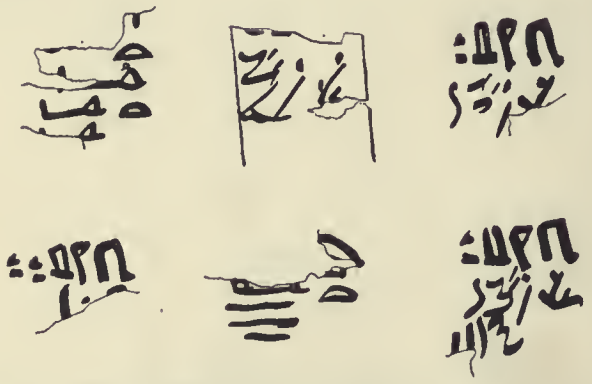


Fig. 28. Name and title inserted in hieratic on six fragments of an inscribed coffin (C 66). Scale ½.

below. The lower is the top of one of the usual "fruit-stands." In the south chamber, fragments of the painted wooden coffin of Neferhotp.

C 66. Shaft with one chamber to south. Two sarcophagi with blue hieroglyphs, edged with black, on a white ground, exactly similar to those of X 3 and Z 2*a*. In one of them the name of the owner (the temple-scribe Didiumut) has been filled in in hieratic in black, the coffin having been bought ready made (fig. 28, Pl. XIV., fig. 15, and Pl. XIII., fig. 5). With these were some fragments of white spotted red ware.

C 75. Surface burial of a child in a wooden coffin, extended supine, head north. At the neck were two barrel-shaped beads of stone. In the sand, 30 cm. above the coffin, were two vases. One was incomplete and in fragments, the other is shown on Pl. XXIX. in the top row. It is a flask made of brown clay, with a red slip finely polished.

C 76. Surface burial in sand. Female body, supine, head north, right leg slightly bent under left. On right upper arm two armlets of discoid beads of shell and of small ball beads of black glaze respectively. Two similar armlets on the right forearm. At the fingers a ring of minute black glaze discoid beads. On the left upper arm armlets similar to those on the right. At right fingers a ring of minute black glaze discoid beads. Round the neck three bead necklaces:—

(*a*) Of discoid shell beads with alabaster drop shaped pendant.

(*b*) Of larger discoid beads of light blue and dark blue glaze threaded alternately.

(*c*) Of small discoid beads of blue and of black glaze threaded in the proportion of about eight black to one blue, with a drop-shaped pendant of blue glazed rock crystal.

At each ear six small discoid beads of blue glaze.

C 84. For possible connection with a mastaba see above, p. 56. One chamber to south. In the shaft were pieces of a small stucco mask, fragment of a pot of green composition with no glaze, a fine semi-transparent white pebble, discoid beads of shell and one of blue glaze, fragment of white spotted red ware, one barrel bead of dark blue glaze with fragments of lighter blue glaze frit fused into its surface, and two small pyramids of fine grey mud, sun-dried (Pl. XV., fig. 8). I can find no exact parallel to these peculiar objects. One of them has considerably sloping sides and comes almost to a

point at the top. Near the bottom are, on each face, three dotted lines, the two lower of which are parallel to the base while the upper diverges from them. The other object is taller, and its sides have a much slighter inclination. All four sides are covered near the top with small sharp punctures, which extend for about a centimetre downwards. One side has in addition two small pits like eyes near the top, and a single one in the centre not far from the bottom. The face opposite to this has no pits near the top, but two near the bottom. The other two faces have each two diverging punctured lines near the bottom, after the manner of the other pyramid. There are no other marks on the objects, and they are not pierced with string-holes. It is impossible to guess their use. The two pits near the top of the taller suggest that it is anthropomorphic, but the two near the bottom seem to contradict this.[1]

C 91. Shaft with three chambers, two to south and one to north. In the upper south chamber, part of a small stucco face, a wooden kohl stick, discoid shell beads, small ball beads of light and of dark blue glaze exactly similar to those of C 76, and a piece of pan pottery. The last was of very fine red polished ware similar to that of the thin bell-shaped pan pots of O 4. There was a moulded rebate of about a centimetre at the rim, and this alone was black. Evidently some special means had been employed to confine the black colour to this sunk rim.

X 3. Shaft, with chambers empty. In the shaft, a coffin of wood with hieroglyphs painted in light blue, with black edges and detail, on a white ground. The original name . . . . iri has been erased and that of Sebkhotp substituted. See below, p. 123, and Pl. XIII., fig. 4, and Pl. XXXVI. With it was a fragment of white spotted red ware and the following vases:—

(*a*) Pl. XXXIII., right-hand top corner, black on buff.

(*b*) Type immediately to left of this (tube pot), but a little shorter.

(*c*) Pl. XXXI., X 52, top row, centre.

(*d*) Pl. XXXII., R 108, top row, second from right end (flask).

(*e*) Pl. XXX., W 10, left top corner.

(*f*) Similar form without incisions (two examples).

(*g*) Two plain hemispherical bowls.

(*h*) Pl. XXXIII., B 12, bottom row, last but one on the right, but with taller sides and two incised lines round the rim.

Fig. 29. Blue glaze vase, O 4.

X 52. Shaft, with chamber to north and to south. In the north, a group of vases (Pl. XXXI.). In the south, a beautiful vase of blue marble in the shape of a swan, and a plain dish of thick alabaster with four small projections round the rim (Pl. XIII., figs. 13 and 14). The pottery is shown on Pl. XXIX.

X 64. Shaft, with four chambers, all empty, two at each end. Good group of pots in the shaft (Pl. XXXI.). In the upper north chamber, a shaft of an arrow, two fragments of ivory, a plain blue glaze scaraboid, two ivory rivets, a piece of a curved object of horn, and a pierced shell.

O 4. Shaft, with chamber to south, roughly cut and buttressed up with brick, owing to the softness of the rock, which prevented the finishing of the north chamber. In the shaft were the

[1] Cf., however, the mud doll, *El Amrah and Abydos*, Pl. xlviii., D 119.

following objects: fragments of eleven bell-shaped bowls of fine pan pottery (Pl. XIII., fig. 11), a blue glaze vase (fig. 29 and Pl. XIII., fig. 8, left), a bone spatula, the red vase Pl. XIII., fig. 8, right, and Pl. XXIX., top row, pieces of incised wood from a box, a small rough rectangular flint, two inlaid eyes, fragments of an ivory bracelet, piece of a blue glaze *shabti* figure, a large shell, part of a dish of white spotted red ware, and blue glaze beads.

Z 2*a*. Shaft, chamber to north and to south. South, empty. In north, some gold foil, two pottery dishes (Pl. XXIX., second row), and a third of white spotted red ware (Pl. XIII., fig. 1), an inlaid eye, an alabaster kohl pot (fig. 30), blue glaze beads, a drop-shaped

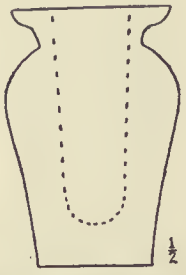


Fig. 30. Alabaster vase, Z 2*a*.

pendant of glazed rock crystal, and fragments of the wooden coffin of the *wʿrtw* of the ruler's table, Amenemhat (figs. 88, 89). On this last the hieroglyphs were painted in blue, with black edging and detail, on a white ground. The birds' tails and legs were omitted, and the coffin was in all respects similar to that of X 3.

To the Intermediate Period are also to be assigned, in the main, the tombs of Group W, though there is in some cases a mixture of objects due to the intrusion of later burials of the XVIIIth Dynasty in the old shafts. The pottery from these tombs is drawn on Pl. XXX.

W 2. Shaft, 232 × 90 cm., with chamber to north and to south, containing probably a mixture of objects from an earlier and a later burial. In shaft, a wooden hand from a coffin, four blue glaze fly amulets, small blue glaze discoid beads, and a small bone disc. In the north chamber, a poor blue glaze scarab, part of an alabaster kohl pot, a rough flint, a bone disc, piece of an alabaster vase,[1] two wooden kohl sticks, and part of one of ebony (?), a wooden comb, a pair of copper or bronze tweezers, a wooden *shabti* (probably from a disturbed surface burial close by), twelve small mud stoppers for vases, some pottery (Pl. XXX.), and part of a wooden head-rest. In the south chamber, part of a necklace of dark blue paste fly amulets and beads, strung as shown in the plate (Pl. XIV.,

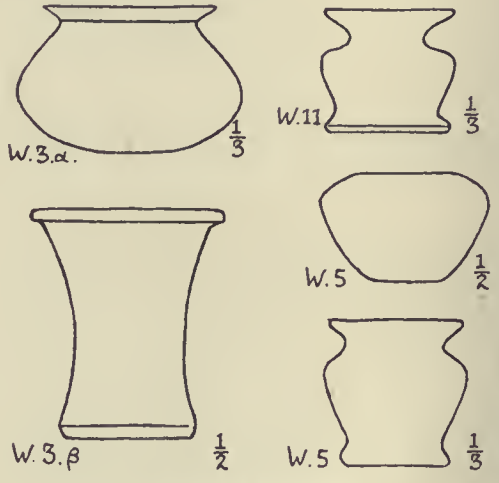


Fig. 31. Stone vases.

fig. 4), a piece of bone inlay with incised ornament of circles with centres marked, copper or bronze tweezers, piece of an ivory bracelet, a blue glaze bobbin-shaped object, probably a piece for a game, a carnelian bead, blue glaze spherical beads, and large blue glaze discoid beads with convex faces.

W 3. Shaft, 232 × 90 cm. Chambers to north and to south. In south chamber, a wooden hand, piece of ivory inlay with similar decoration to that found in W 2, two *dôm* nuts, three figs,

[1] Probably of type *El Arabah*, Pl. xviii., E 268, top row, third from left.

broken alabaster vase (fig. 31), lid of another, copper or bronze mirror with handle in the same metal (Pl. XIII., fig. 7), a worked shell of genus *Conus*, piece of stucco covered with gold leaf, rough ring of mother of pearl, and some pottery (Pl. XXX. and the two flasks of Pl. XIII., fig. 2). In the north chamber were parts of two Pepi jars of alabaster (fig. 31),[1] an ivory wand (broken) in the shape of an arm, pieces of bone inlay of the same kind as above, a bone knob, and a large bone or ivory fly amulet.

W 5. Shaft, 278 × 97 cm. Chamber to north and to south. In the north, piece of a good blue glaze bowl, a wooden false beard, and large numbers of very coarse mud *shabtis* whitened over. In south chamber, an alabaster kohl pot (fig. 31), a minute shapeless vase of stone (fig. 31), two blue glaze eyes, one spherical and one cylindrical bead of blue glaze, one shell bead, and a large quantity of clay *shabtis* with traces of blue glaze.

W 6. Shaft, with chamber at each end. In the shaft, large numbers of small rough pottery *shabtis* with traces of blue glaze. Blue glaze genius figure, one spherical and one cylindrical bead of blue glaze, a spiral ring of copper or bronze, and some pottery (Pl. XXX.).

W 8. Shaft, 276 × 125 cm., with a small quantity of pottery in it (Pl. XXX. and the white spotted and striped ware of Pl. XIII., fig. 2).

W 11. Shaft, with a brick-lined chamber at either end. In and at entrance to north chamber were a number of mud dabs, *dôm* nuts, three carnelian beads, part of an ebony kohl stick, an inlaid eye, a broken Pepi jar of stone,[1] a flint flake, pottery (Pl. XXX.), an uninscribed scarab of blue glaze, and long cylindrical beads of blue glaze. In the south chamber, an alabaster kohl pot (fig. 31), some pottery (Pl. XXX.), a shell, an ebony kohl stick, and the object shown on Pl. XV., fig. 9. This consists of a pair of the usual metal tweezers, into which fits exactly an object of ivory thin at the closed end and increasing in thickness towards the other end, just as the arms of the tweezers do. The end is square, and has in it a number of small deep holes, in some of which are remains of bristles and cement. It therefore seems likely that the ivory object was a brush, and that it and the tweezers formed a combined toilet object, the brush when not in use being packed away inside the callipers, and helping them to preserve their spring.

W 12. Shaft, 265 × 100 cm., with one chamber to north and two to south. In the shaft were portions of ox skulls, and several horns. One skull and one of the horns showed traces of red colouring. A little pottery (Pl. XXX.).

W 15. Shaft, with chamber to north. In it a few vases (Pl. XXX.), some small blue glaze *shabtis*, and circular blue glaze beads.

W 19. Shaft, chambers destroyed. One small mud dab, several skulls of a small rodent (shrew?), and the head of one of the usual steatopygous figures in grey clay (cf. Pl. XIV., fig. 1).

The other tombs of this W group, which are not described here, but the pottery of which is shown on Pl. XXX., were shafts of the same type as these, in which nothing more than pottery was found. Most of them had been damaged by fire. Portions of two more steatopygous figures of grey clay (Pl. XIV., figs. 2 and 3) were picked up on the surface here and evidently come from this group of tombs.

Characteristics of the Intermediate Period.

To attempt to characterize the period from tombs as badly plundered as those which we have just described would be folly. Plundering

[1] For type cf. *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III., Pl. ix., fig. 19.

has, however, hardly affected the pottery, and we have therefore essayed below a classification of the various wares of the period. With regard to other objects there is little to be said. In alabaster we found no new forms, all of them being continuations, almost without modification, of the favourite types of the Middle Kingdom. As for the scarabs, the uninscribed types in carnelian and amethyst seem to have continued to be used, and the large type in fine blue glaze, with a high domed back and spiral border round the inscription, typical of the later XIIth Dynasty, survives at least into the earlier part of the Intermediate Period (B 13). Of the steatopygous female figures in grey clay, characteristic of the period, we found no less than five examples, all broken (Pl. XIV., figs. 1–3). The example from R 59 is almost certainly from the early XVIIIth Dynasty.[1]

Pottery of the Intermediate Period.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the misfortune of Egyptian tombs has been their richness. Not only has it led to continual plundering, but the wealth of gold, precious stones, alabasters and bronzes has diverted the minds of excavators from the study of that on which the science of archaeology must be ultimately founded, namely the pottery. Had the pottery of Egypt been from the first treated with the affectionate thoroughness accorded to that found on all prehistoric sites elsewhere in the Mediterranean, it cannot be doubted that the solution of many a doubtful problem in Egyptian archaeology would have been materially assisted. This has, indeed, come to be generally recognized. For years Petrie and others have drawn every vase they have found,[2] and of late years we have had such ideal pieces of classification as that accomplished by Reisner and his colleagues at Naga ed Dêr, and that of Junker at Turah.

For the period between the XIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties, however, much remains to be done, and it is particularly necessary that it should be done, for there is not the least doubt that it would go a long way to steady discussion on the length of the period.

The tombs which we have excavated of this period are not numerous, and they are so plundered that we cannot venture to establish any chronological sub-division of the period.

The pottery, however, has suffered less than the richer objects, and we have a considerable quantity available for study. The classification here attempted is based on the pottery of Abydos alone, though as far as we can see it holds good of the other sites of the same period. It does not pretend to be either complete or final, and the publication of Garstang's material from Abydos, together with future finds both there and in other parts of Egypt, will doubtless serve to complete and modify it.

Class A.—Red, buff and grey wares of ordinary Egyptian type; wheel-made.

1. Buff or ochre ware, unpolished.

The clay is generally brown or greyish at the centre, and the suface is buff. There seems to be no appreciable slip and there is never any attempt at a polish,[3] the outside of the vase being merely smoothed over.

In a special class of this ware we may place a number of vases with very thin walls (2–3 mm.) and of much purer clay than the larger vases. The most noticeable forms of this ware are the numerous hemispherical bowls of the type found in C 63 (Pl. XXIX.). Occasionally the shape is rather modified, and there is a flat base, as in the example from B 13 on the top row of the same plate. This type of ware is often orna-

[1] For certain examples from the XVIIIth Dynasty see *El Amrah and Abydos*, Pl. xlviii., D 29; Pl. l., D 11.

[2] Unfortunately material and technique have received far less attention than form.

[3] There is one exception, Pl. xxix., left-hand bottom corner.

mented by the addition of bands of dull red paint. Thus the bowls have frequently a line of this paint about 2 cm. wide round the rim on the outside, and sometimes on the inside as well. Occasionally the interior is adorned with two broad bands crossing at the centre, and very rarely there is a slightly more complicated design, such as the lattice on the example from B 13.

Although the very finest of this buff or ochre ware is reserved for the bowls, we occasionally find other forms made of the same material, with walls very little thicker. There are four such vases on Pl. XXIX. On the top row there are the broad tubular pot marked C, with crenellated rim, and the bottle, also marked C, on its right, the latter with a wash of the usual red on the upper part. Below, in the group C 63, there are the tubular pot on the right, with red painted rim, and the flask next to it.

The fine ochre bowls are known in the XIIth Dynasty (an example from D 167, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III., Pl. ix., fig. 13), and they are still in use in the early XVIIIth Dynasty (R 18).

2. Red slip wares, polished or unpolished.

The clay is much the same as in the first class, and, especially in the larger vases, contains minute particles of a white substance and a small amount of finely chopped straw, both of these probably added to prevent cracking in the firing. In colour it varies from grey to brown or even red, according to the thickness of the walls and the intensity of the firing. The vases are wheel-made and are covered with a fine red slip. This is afterwards either smoothed over or polished. The unpolished ware seems to be used indifferently with buff ware for almost every form of vase, especially ring-stands, bowls, and the large dishes on a tall conical foot ("fruit-stands"). The red polished surface is frequent on globular flasks, open dishes (sometimes on the inside only), and almost invariable on the larger tubular pots with restricted mouth (Pl. XXX., Group W 6). A glance at the groups X 52, north and south chambers, and X 64 on Pls. XXIX. and XXXI., will show on which types the red polish is more usual and on which the merely smoothed surface is preferred. The colour of this red polished surface is rather bright, like that of the early XVIIIth Dynasty, though occasionally we find a darker tinge more like some of the XIIth Dynasty polishes, as for example in the large dish on Pl. XXIX. on the second row of Group X 52. This vase has a curious ornament in relief at intervals round the rim.

3. Light grey ware, unpolished.

Here the clay is of a very light grey colour with occasionally a tinge of green, not unlike the Qeneh clays of the present day, but less porous. The vases are well fired, and have a hard rather brittle appearance. They are usually well smoothed, but never polished, the nature of the clay probably preventing this.

This material is far less common in the Intermediate Period than it was in the XIIth Dynasty. The examples in the plates are Pl. XXXI., X 64, top left corner; Pl. XXXII., R 108, top row; Pl. XXIX., examples from W 2 and W 3. It is used mainly for the making of small flasks, and is frequently ornamented with the incised comb pattern (see below), never with bands of paint.

Ornamentation of these three wares.

The majority of the vases of the Intermediate Period are made of one of the above materials. Most of them are plain, but in others there is some attempt at ornament. The means used are simple. They consist in the employment of white and of dull red paint, or of incision while the clay is still wet.

(*a*) Red paint.

The use of this we have already noted. It is practically confined to the rims and insides of vases made of the fine ochre ware of Class 1.

(*b*) White paint.

This is of a poor chalky quality, and is freely used in adorning vases of classes 1 and 2. The most usual ornament is a rough band round the outside of the rim, or less frequently round the body of the vase. Very common, too, is the covering of the surface with a number of white spots each about a centimetre in diameter (Pl. XIII., figs. 1 and 2). This occurs mostly on the inside of dishes of buff or red (polished and unpolished) ware. Occasionally it is combined with, or replaced by, a white band round the inside of the rim and two broad bands forming a cross (Pl. XIII., fig. 2). The white spotting is sometimes applied to small biconical bottles of unpolished red ware (Pl. XIII., fig. 2).

(*c*) Incision.

This is always done before the firing, usually with a rather broad point. As a rule it is limited to a few lines round the rim, neck, or shoulder of the vase. Very often these lines are in reality a single continuous line traced round in a spiral from the rim downwards. This is clear on Pl. XXX., in the groups W 3 and 10. Occasionally the depth and breadth of these incisions give the effect of moulding to the rim. There are good examples of this on Pl. XXXI., X 52 and Group A (A 4).

A much more elaborate effect is produced by the so-called scrabble pattern. This is an undulating design produced usually by two or more parallel moving points, perhaps a comb. The two best examples are in Pl. XXXII., Group R 108. This ornament occurs either on grey ware or on red slip ware with a well smoothed surface. In an example from Z 2*a* (Pl. XXIX.), the surface has almost a polish.

It is worthy of notice that the use of black paint, common in the XVIIIth Dynasty, does not occur here except in one vase of W 2, a tomb the contents of which may in part belong to that dynasty.

The use of relief ornament is most rare. There is, however, an example on the small sherd in Pl. XIII., fig. 2.

The forms in Classes A 1, 2, *and* 3.

The forms need little description, as they can be grasped at once from the illustrations. Apart from the types found in the fine ochre ware, the most frequently recurring are the ring-stands, the large globular flasks with narrow necks, the large tubular pots, the "fruit-stands," the open dishes, and the bowls with hemispherical base and tall sides with incision round the rim (Pl. XXX., W 10).

Class B.—Pan pottery.

This term is variously used. It was applied originally to certain types of pottery found in the pan graves at Hou, but it is often limited to the denotation of wares resembling the black-topped ware of the predynastic period, but dating from a much later era. We shall include under it here all the pottery which can be on technical grounds brought into relation with the black-topped vases of the Intermediate Period. In contrast to the ordinary wares of the period all these vases appear to be hand made.

1. Coarse thick ware, red with black top.

This appears generally in the form of hemispherical bowls (Pl. XXIX., top right corner). The clay is fairly clean but poorly moulded, and the walls of the vase are very thick, while the surface is lumpy and uneven. There is apparently a haematite slip, which is of a dull dark red except inside the bowl and on the outside of the rim, where it is black. The whole outer surface has a poor polish. The inner surface is smoothed, but apparently with a gritty object, for it is covered with horizontal scratches. Outside, at a depth of 15 mm. below the rim, a clearly defined, though scratchy, incised line runs round the vase. The whole vase has a dull dusty appearance, and no one accustomed to the study of pottery will have the least difficulty in distinguishing this

ware from that of the predynastic age, from which it differs in colour, surface, polish, finish, forms, and the presence of scratches within, and often the incised line without.

2. Fine black-topped red ware.

This ware is best known from the beautiful bell-shaped vases which have been found on several sites in Egypt. The walls are very thin, varying from 4 mm. at the bottom to 2 mm. near the rim. The clay is pure, and there is a fine slip of haematite over the surface. The whole of the inside of the vase is jet black. Outside, the lower half is a bright brick red, while the upper 5 cm. is discoloured, jet black at the top with an uneven band of crusted white below, and beneath that again a zone of dull reddish black, shading off into the red. The outside surface is polished, as is usually the inner, both horizontally and vertically, with a very narrow polisher, perhaps of bone. The black portions of the surface take a much higher polish than the red, and have almost the appearance and feel of polished ebony. In the fracture the clay is red or black according to the surface above it.

This fine ware also occurs in a few other forms in certain tombs of the Intermediate Period found by Garstang at Abydos. Here the technique is exactly the same, except that there is occasionally some moulding at the rim. On a fragment found in Tomb C 91 in this cemetery there was a rebated band at the rim, and the black colouring was exactly confined to this band. This shows remarkable control of the process.

This ware seems to be limited entirely to the Intermediate Period. None of the Abydos examples can be dated to either the XIIth or XVIIIth Dynasties. Some excellent examples were found by Petrie in an untouched tomb at Qurna which he dates to about the XVIIth Dynasty.

3. Incised black-topped red ware.

This is known to me at Abydos only from pieces found in Tomb C 56 (Pl. XV., fig. 12), from some fragments found on the surface, and from a whole vase found by plunderers in a tomb some two miles to the south of the site. The ware is that of Class B 1, but it is in general a little better and thinner. The black band round the top is rather narrow and very irregular in form. The incisions are made with a blunt point on the still wet clay, and consist of a lattice pattern which does not cover the bottom of the vase.

4. Rough pitted black ware.

The clay is of a dull cinder colour throughout, and has an extremely rough and coarse surface inside and out. On the outside it is ornamented all over by tracing parallel furrows diagonally downwards from right to left with a blunt point about 3 mm. broad, which is pressed in at intervals of 5 mm. so as to form a series of shallow pits. The whole surface thus has a kind of pock-marked appearance.

5. Smooth or polished black wares.

The tombs of the Intermediate Period occasionally yield small vases or fragments of a hand-made ware whose surface is entirely black, and which has as a rule a slight polish. These differ in technique from the "Syrian" wares of Class C, as well as from all the usual Egyptian wares of the period, and are probably to be classed with the pan wares. Part of a deep bowl of very thick ware was found on the surface in C. It had a fine polish on the outside. There is also an excellent example in Tomb D 212, which dates from the XIIth Dynasty or slightly later (*Cemeteries of Abydos*, III., Pl. v., fig. 16). It has a surface with a fair polish and simple incised decoration.[1]

With regard to these pan wares there is now a general consensus of opinion. It is certain that they do not represent a continuance in Egypt itself of the predynastic ceramic tradition, for

[1] Cf. Garstang, *El Arabah*, Pl. xxvii., E 156, top row, and p. 18.

black-topped ware was virtually extinct before the beginning of the Ist Dynasty, and there is no trace of it in the Old Kingdom. It is therefore clear that the black top technique must have been re-introduced from some neighbouring country, where it had continued in use ever since the predynastic era. Nubia suits these conditions perfectly. The work of Reisner and his colleagues has shown that in Nubia there was a predynastic civilization very similar to that of Egypt itself. But when Egypt began to progress in the late predynastic era Nubia fell behind and remained there. The result was that even when Egypt was at the stage of civilization marked by the XIIth Dynasty, Nubia was still making black-topped pottery. The disorder which prevailed in Egypt during the Hyksos period probably led to the advance into Egypt of marauding tribes of Nubians, or at any rate the establishment of a foreign dynasty in North Egypt drove South Egypt back into closer relations with Nubia. Hence the re-introduction of black-topped pottery into the country, and the phenomenon of the pan grave cemeteries, which have as yet been found only in Upper Egypt.

Class C.—Syro-Cypriote incised black and red wares.

Here, as in the case of pan ware, we clearly have an intrusive type, and that its appearance in Egypt is due to relations with Syria, possibly fostered by the Hyksos invasion, is clear from the large preponderance of this ware in the Hyksos tombs found by Petrie at Tell el Yahudiyeh in the Delta.[1]

At Abydos there is a fine example from Tomb B 13 on Pl. XIII., fig. 8, centre.[2] The clay is black throughout, and the surface is smooth but not polished.[3] The incisions are made with a fairly sharp point before the firing, and are usually filled with a white substance. The simple designs are generally carried out in punctured lines, either in horizontal zones round the vase or more rarely in vertical panels. The almost invariable form is an elegant flask with a narrow neck and a handle.

It should not be overlooked that this ware is occasionally of a dull red colour, well smoothed, with little or no incision. Petrie figures one example, and we found a very similar one in the surface sand at A (fig. 32).

The vase shown on Pl. XIII., fig. 8, right, and also on the top row of Pl. XXIX. is in this technique. It comes from the same tomb as the fine bell vases of pan pottery.

With regard to the date of these incised wares there is little difficulty. I know of no example

Fig. 32. Red polished vase found in surface sand at A.

dating from the XIIth Dynasty. Petrie's vases from the tombs of Tell el Yahudiyeh can hardly be dated more closely than to the Intermediate Period; the graves are clearly those of the Asiatic invaders. Tomb B 13 at Abydos is probably of the early Intermediate Period, and O 4 may be of the same date or a little later. The latest example known to me is from Tomb D 114 (*Cemeteries of Abydos*, III., Pl. xii., fig. 4), which has scarabs with the name of Thothmes III. and pottery of the same reign. There is no sign of mixing in the contents of the tomb, but the vase may have been old when placed there. On the other hand, it is worth noting that Garstang found an example in a tomb (E 10) at Abydos[4] accompanied by pottery of the "Syrian" type common in the XVIIIth Dynasty. It is true that, as Petrie points out,

[1] *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, Pl. v. and vii.–viii.B; also p. 15.

[2] Another in *El Amrah and Abydos*, Pl. liv., fig. 13.

[3] In some cases the unincised portions of the surface are slightly polished.

[4] *El Arabah*, Pl. xvii.

there seems to be an admixture of earlier objects in the tomb, but at the same time, even if this is the case, the vase in question may belong to the later deposit.

These wares, therefore, belong mainly to the Intermediate Period, though there is some slight reason for supposing that they continued in use in rare cases even into the reign of Thothmes III. They may have begun to enter Egypt even before the Hyksos invasion, but it was undoubtedly this movement that encouraged their importation and diffusion.

Class D.—Painted wares.

From the point of view of ceramic development the most important manifestation of the Intermediate Period was the rise of the art of painting pottery. It was in use in Egypt in the predynastic period, possibly also in the Ist Dynasty, but the tendency to make the finer vases not of clay but of stone had prevented the growth in Egypt of a tradition of painted pottery similar to that of Crete or the Aegaean. The result is that from the Ist to the XIIth Dynasty painted vases in the true sense of the term hardly occur in Egypt. It is in the Intermediate Period that painting, as distinguished from the mere application of rough bands of colouring matter, first reappears. In the earliest examples there is no special preparation of the ground to receive the painted design. Thus the vase B 13, on the top row of Pl. XXIX., is nothing more than an ochre vase with a lattice design in dull red. The same is probably the case with the various painted vases of the Intermediate Period on Pl. liv. of *El Amrah and Abydos*, though no details of the technique are given in the text.

The true painted vases, however, are of a very different type from these. The clay is pure and well fired, there is a light buff slip which is smoothed and generally slightly polished, and the designs are carried out in dark brown, almost black, paint. On the bottom row of Pl. XXXIII. there is a good example from B 15, which is almost certainly of the Intermediate Period, and X 3, which is certainly of that date, gave a smaller example with the same design, except for the absence of the wavy line round the neck. Another certain example of the same type is given by Garstang in Group E 156 on Plate xxvii. of *El Arabah*. On Pl. XXIX., Group X 52, we have a rather different design with three horizontal bands of ornament, while on the bottom row of the same group is a vase in the same technique with a still simpler decoration. Tomb W 2 gave an example with simple bands in two colours, black and red, but this probably dates from the XVIIIth Dynasty.

It will be seen that all these vases are variations of a single form, which we see at its simplest in the examples of X 52. It afterwards develops a neck and a flat base, and in this form has a long history among the painted wares of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

I see no reason whatever for supposing these vases or their descendants in the XVIIIth Dynasty to be foreign imports. At the same time it is probable that the stimulus to revive painted pottery came from abroad. It may be that the importation of the brown on buff wares of the Middle Minoan period from Crete was the moving cause, but it is still more likely that the painted wares which came in from the Syrian region with the Hyksos were the origin of the movement. There is a possible confirmation of this in X 52 (Pl. XXIX.), where along with two Egyptian painted vases is seen another in the form of a flask with a handle. This vase is probably an actual import, for it differs entirely in technique from the local examples, the clay being of a light grey tinge and the surface almost without polish. Petrie found vases with exactly the same ornament among the Hyksos pottery at Tell el Yahudiyeh (*Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, Pl. viii.*a*).[1] They differ slightly in form, for our

[1] Cf., too, an example very similar to ours from Deshasheh, now in the Ashmolean.

vase has a more slender neck with a beak, and altogether bears a far closer resemblance to the Mediterranean *Schnabelkanne*, from which this jug type is doubtless derived. It will further be noticed that on the same plate with these vases of Petrie's there is another which has the wavy line ornament. Similarly, the short parallel vertical lines which appear on nearly all these vases (Cf. B 15), dividing the space into panels, are clearly taken from imported specimens such as those figured by Petrie, though I cannot find any parallel for the cross lines which so often fill the panels. In the light of this evidence we can hardly doubt that the art of painting vases was revived under the influence of importations from somewhere in the direction of Syria at or about the time of the Hyksos invasion.

Brief summary of the pottery.

The pottery of the Intermediate Period may therefore be briefly summed up as follows. The basis is formed by the plain wares of Class A, representing the tradition of the Middle Kingdom developing very gradually. With this we find two intrusive elements, Class B, which is almost certainly Nubian, and Class C, which is probably Syrian. Finally there remain the still rare vases painted in imitation of imported wares from Syria.

Pottery of the XIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties compared.

The study of this Intermediate pottery teaches one useful lesson, namely, that the amount of development between the XIIth and the XVIIIth Dynasties was remarkably small. If we except the presence of occasional painted vases, the pottery of the early XVIIIth Dynasty is very little different from that of the XIIth. This has long ago been noted by Mace, who states the case in words which will bear repeating. Speaking of the pottery of the early XVIIIth Dynasty, he says: "The majority of the forms . . . . , taken apart from the objects with which they were found, might be assigned equally well to the XIIth Dynasty or the early XVIIIth. This similarity of type is very noticeable, far more so than that between the pottery before and after any other of the gaps in the history. . . . . almost all the earlier XVIIIth Dynasty shapes could, without the slightest hesitatation, be accepted as XIIth." Those who will take the trouble to compare the plates of pottery of the early XVIIIth Dynasty in this volume and in MacIver and Mace's *El Amrâh and Abydos* with those of any typical pottery of the full Middle Kingdom will see at once how little the forms have altered, and if they will further consult the plates of Intermediate pottery they will find that the majority of the forms can be traced right through. In technique there is hardly any alteration, and there are various peculiarities of style which come down direct from XIIth to early XVIIIth. Thus, the white spotting typical of XIIth is common in the Intermediate Period, lasts on into early XVIIIth (R 16), and is even found as late as the reign of Amenhetep II. (*El Arabah*, Pl. xvii.). The undulating comb pattern (scrabble) is very usual in XIIth Dynasty, and not at all uncommon in early XVIIIth (R 108). The survival of the fine ochre bowls with red rims we have already noticed.

The fact is that in the development of Egyptian pottery the great break, or rather step, comes not between the XIIth and early XVIIIth Dynasties, but within the XVIIIth Dynasty itself. Thus, although pottery of the *late* XVIIIth Dynasty forms a strong contrast with that of the XIIth, that of the *early* XVIIIth shows a strong resemblance to it.

III.—Burials of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

These are mostly re-burials in old shafts. One of the most interesting groups lay not far to the west of the Shuneh (G). The shafts had origin-

ally been dug in the XIIth Dynasty or Intermediate Period, and were grouped round a large and completely ruined mastaba (fig. 33). To the north of the mastaba lay three shafts side by side, the two outer ones never having been completed. The filling of A 8 contained fragments of white-spotted red ware and other pottery, probably from the plundered burial in A 4, shortly to be mentioned. Across the top of the shaft A 4 lay a female body in a supine position in a wooden coffin, with head to the east (A 5, Pl. XII., fig. 4). At the head lay nine tube-

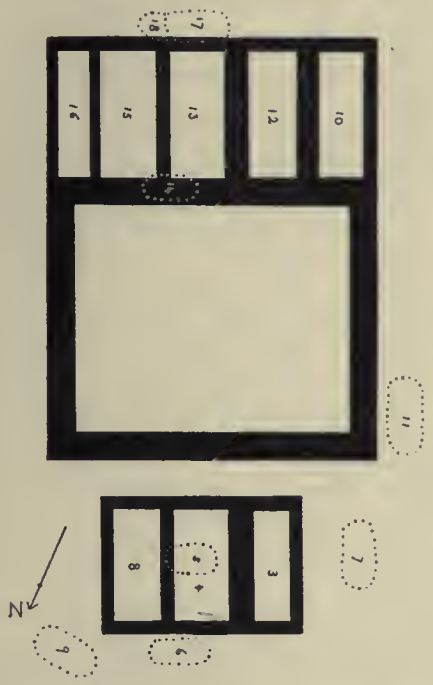


Fig. 33. Mastaba A and tombs connected with it.

shaped vases of red pottery, and at the feet eight more. At the ears were earrings of bronze wire, and under the chin a blue glaze scarab (Pl. XXXVII.), a blue glass ball bead, some small glaze beads and one of silver. At the left hand were four scarabs of early XVIIIth Dynasty type (Pl. XXXVII.). At both wrists were bracelets, consisting each of a single ring of cylindrical blue glaze beads threaded with two short ones between each long. There was also an alabaster kohl-vase (fig. 34, A 4, and Pl. XIV., fig. 6, right).

Lower down in the shaft occurred at one and the same level three burials in wooden coffins, two with head to the north and one with head to the south. These were probably of not much earlier date than that above them. Two lay on the right side, and the third face downwards. This last yielded an alabaster kohl-pot (fig. 34, A 4*c* and Pl. XIV., fig. 6, left), a wooden comb (Pl. XV., fig. 6), and a bronze earring. One of the other bodies was accompanied by an alabaster kohl-vase (fig. 34, A 4*a* and Pl. XIV., fig. 6, centre).

Much further down was the original chamber of the shaft. This lay to the south and was very large, running well under the mastaba. It had been plundered and only contained, besides a few scattered bones, four fragments of coarse pottery, a piece of stone, a small blue glaze

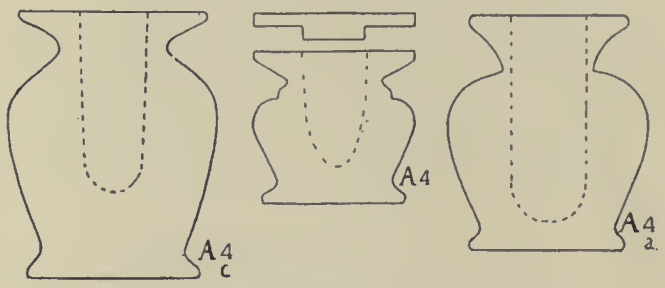


Fig. 34. Alabaster vases, A 4. Scale ½.

bead, and three very large spherical beads of pale blue glaze with very small holes. The original interment was clearly made in the XIIth Dynasty or slightly later. Before the XVIIIth Dynasty it had been plundered and the shaft was re-used for later burials.

To the south of the mastaba lay five shafts, A 10, 12, 13, 15 and 16. Of these, A 10 had a chamber to the north but was quite empty, while A 12, 15 and 16 had never been completed. A 13, however, contained a burial in the shaft at one metre from the top (Pl. XII., fig. 3). The body was that of a woman, and lay supine in a wooden coffin shaped to the shoulders. At the head lay two *dôm*-nuts and four pottery vases, at the feet three pottery vases and an alabaster kohl-pot, and under the left hand was a scarab (Pl.

XXXVII.). The vases point to the early XVIIIth Dynasty. Lower down lay the chamber, to the north, under the mastaba, and in it the remains of a fine wooden coffin, the lid of which had been removed and left in the shaft. On the end of the coffin was an inscription giving the name Intef painted in well-formed blue hieroglyphs. The inscriptions on the sides of the coffin were almost entirely destroyed, but were of the usual type. There was also found part of a long wooden pen (or arrow?). This burial probably dates from the early Intermediate Period.

Around the mastaba and the shafts connected with it lay a number of small trench graves, some of which will be seen on the plan (fig. 33). The most important of these are A 1, 6 and 9. The rest had been completely plundered.

A 1. Child, supine, extended, left leg slightly bent, head local west. Six vases of pottery over legs, and one under back (Pl. XXXI.). Two bronze hair-rings at throat, and a small bronze hair-ring at left ear. Four pierced shells at throat, and single string of bluish glass beads at neck.

A 6. Body extended, rather on left side, head local east. Remains of wooden coffin. Five vases of pottery at head, one at right elbow, and eight at feet (Pl. XXXI.).

A 9. Remains of two adult bodies and that of a child in a single trench, heads to the true E.S.E., bones much disturbed. Several tubular pots, an alabaster kohl-pot, and the two curious semicircular slabs of limestone Pl. XIV., figs. 16 and 17, evidently forming parts of a single object.

The pottery of the whole group is drawn on Pl. XXXI. It is to be noted, however, that the vases marked A 4 are from the top of the shaft, not from an actual burial, so that their date cannot be regarded as certain.

There are a few re-burials of the XVIIIth Dynasty in the older shafts of Region B. B 12 is a good example of this. In the top of the shaft were various vases of XVIIIth Dynasty type. The upper chamber was at the south end and had been completely wrecked. At the entrance lay the remains of a fine inlaid ivory and wood box. This must have been a valuable object, for the strips of ivory were some of them 70 cm. in length; but the box was utterly destroyed, and it was impossible to reconstruct it. Within the chamber lay masses of XVIIIth Dynasty pottery (Pl. XXXIII.), a scarab (Pl. XXXVII.), a large alabaster kohl-pot with a fine bright blue glaze lid (Pl. XIII., fig. 12, broad type), a smaller alabaster kohl-vase (Pl. XIII., fig. 12, small vase), a small blue glaze Bez figure, part of the wooden handle of a mirror, a wooden kohl-stick, a thick ivory bracelet, and three very large hollow beads of blue glaze. Two of these last are pear-shaped, and the third is

Fig. 35. Alabaster vase, B 12.

spherical. Two are pierced, and may have been fastened on to the end of ivory or wooden pins. The north chamber was at a slightly lower level. In it lay two bodies, those of a boy and a girl. The chamber had been badly disturbed, and the boy's skull had been thrown into a corner and then broken in with a large stone. An adult's thigh bones were also found in the chamber. These may represent the original burial, or may have been thrown in here from the upper chamber by the plunderers. In the chamber lay a large number of pottery vases, a hollow bracelet of bronze, two kohl-pots, one of alabaster and one of blue marble,[1] the alabaster vase fig. 35

[1] It is very probable that these stone vases belong to the original burial of the XIIth Dynasty or slightly later.

and Pl. XIII., fig. 12, and twenty-five scarabs scattered on and around the body of the girl (Pl. XXXVII.). These last are definitely assignable to the early part of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and one of them bears the cartouche of Thothmes I.

The only other tomb which yielded anything of importance is B 15. This was a shaft with chambers to north and south. In the shaft were fragments of alabaster and blue glaze, a few shells and pieces of *shabtis*, and the painted vase shown on Pl. XXXIII. In the south chamber were found a few small fragments of a painted wooden coffin with inscribed texts of which only a few hieroglyphic signs remained, fragments of leather, and a small biconical bottle of whitish grey ware. In the north chamber was the black stone kohl-pot, Pl. XV., fig. 10.

IV.—Burials of the Later Dynasties.

From the XIXth Dynasty onwards the re-use of the old shafts in this part of the cemetery became common. The re-burials are of little interest, being mostly poor, and they are of no use from the scientific point of view, since their objects are often mixed up with those of previous burials and no sound criteria of date can be drawn from them. Thus in Region F there are cases where a shaft has been re-used more than once. For example, in F 1–4 the original burials probably dated from the Intermediate Period, but there had been re-burials in the XVIIIth Dynasty and again in the XXIst. Few relics of the earlier burials were found. The chambers of all four shafts were broken into one another in such a way as to form a continuous underground cave. To the original burials may be ascribed two fine kohl-vases of alabaster and some fragments of gold foil, as well as large masses of broken pottery. To the XXIst Dynasty probably belong the *shabti* figures, some of which have the curious notch in the back which characterizes the *shabtis* of Pisebkhanu, a prince of the XXIst Dynasty.[1]

B 1 is a grave which was constructed probably in the Intermediate Period and re-used at least once. In the filling of the shaft was a fragment of a fine ivory wand, belonging no doubt to the original burial. In the chamber nothing was found but the fragments of a fine painted stucco sarcophagus. This must belong to the XXIInd–XXVth Dynasties, but the work is remarkably good and not unlike that of the XIIth Dynasty. On one side were eight panels, each showing the deceased standing before one of the gods. On the other side was a representation of the funeral barque. One of the ends has preserved the name of the deceased Bek-en-tahuti. The whole work

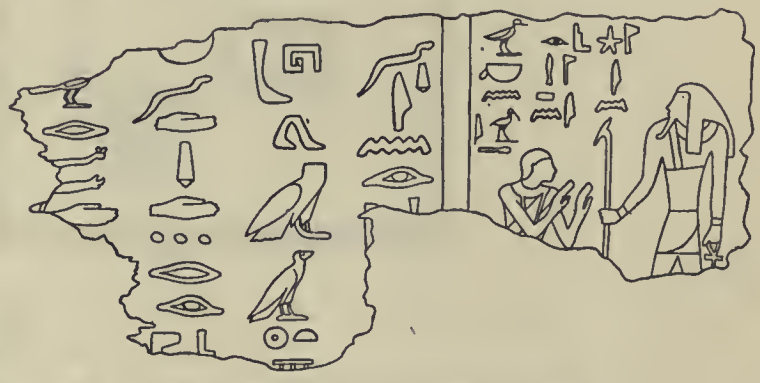


Fig. 36. Remains of sarcophagus of Bekentahuti. Scale ½.

is remarkably fine for the period, the drawing is good and decided and the colours fresh and harmonious (fig. 36).

Tomb with Garden.

Far more interesting is the large tomb C 81, which in some of its details is, I believe, without parallel in Egypt (figs. 37 and 38). The construction of this tomb and its connections probably dates from more than one period. It consists of a shaft lying in a large enclosure (Pl. XI., fig. 3), within which is also a chapel. The enclosure lies on the edge of the valley, from which it is approached by a gently rising causeway. In the

[1] See *El Amrah and Abydos*, Pl. xxxix.

valley itself, at the foot of the causeway, lies a garden. All the construction is in mud brick. The enclosure measures 18·40 × 12·80 m., and its walls stand to a height of four or five courses. There is no definite indication of the original height. The shaft itself has been completely plundered. It had one large chamber to the south, but this had so fallen in that its original size was indeterminable.

In the southern half of the enclosure stood a curious brick structure (fig. 37 and Pl. XI., fig. 2), consisting of two distinct halves. Its western division was a kind of low mastaba four courses high. It was covered with a thick layer of brick and mud. Inside it was filled with sand, and this must have been part of the original arrangement as there was nothing else to support the covering. In the exact centre of this sand filling was a small model coffin of wood, with hawks at the four corners, and a bundle of cloth shaped like a mummy within.

The eastern half of the building was damaged, but it had clearly consisted of a rectangular chamber with a heavy flooring of limestone slabs, a few of which are still in position (Pl. XI., figs. 2 and 3). Its east wall, that in which the entrance would naturally be, has disappeared, and the remaining walls only stand to the height of a few courses.

From the south side of the enclosure, where the ground slopes gradually away, projects a ramp, consisting of two parallel walls with a filling of sand between them (Pl. XI., fig. 1). It descends gradually for 5·5 metres, where it has a low cross wall, and from this point it falls much more rapidly, until at 9 metres it ends in another cross wall (fig. 38). The outer face of the ramp is covered with a layer of white plaster.

Immediately to the south of this is a structure which seems to have no parallel in Egypt (Pl. XI., figs. 1, 4 and 5). It consists of a deep conical pit filled with mud and bordered by a ring of bricks, round which are symmetrically

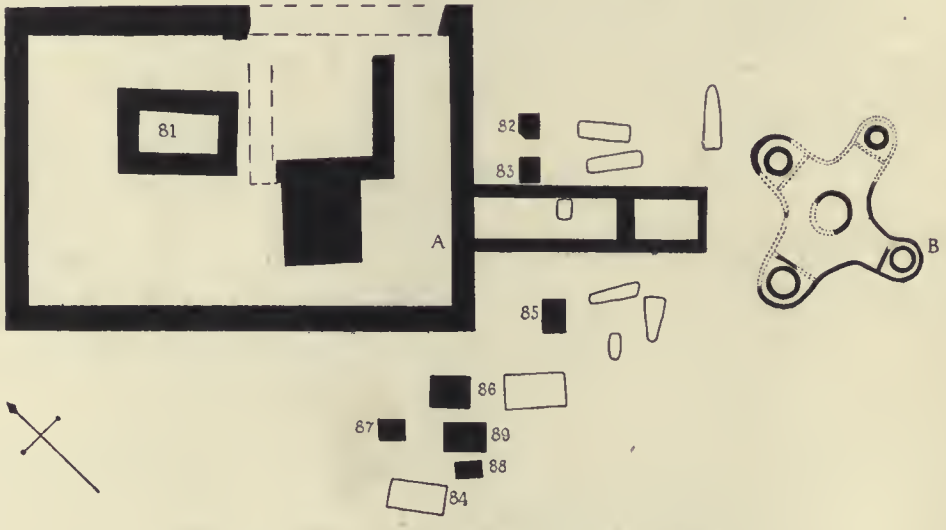


Fig. 37. Plan of C 81 and its connections. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

placed four low turrets of brick. Round the whole runs a low wall of single bricks, which between each turret and the next curves in towards the central pit. The cusp of this wall in which each turret stands was closed by a straight cross wall. The central pit is 2·50 m. deep. There is a similar pit, though not so deep, under each turret, and both pit and turret are filled with Nile mud.

There can be no doubt as to the interpretation of this structure. It is simply a garden consisting of five trees, the remains of whose roots were actually found in the pits of mud. The digging of a deep pit and the filling of it with mud is, of course, the only method of planting

trees in the desert, and the system is frequently used to-day.

Thus he who approached the tomb first passed through the garden in the valley, and then ascended the ramp, and so gained the enclosure. I do not know of any other example of this in Egypt which has actually been discovered, though on a stela found at Gizeh there is a representation of a woman kneeling before some

Fig. 38. Section of ramp through A B. Scale $\frac{1}{300}$.

tombs near which, on a lower level, stands a group of three trees.[1]

The dating of the tomb is difficult. I am inclined to think that the ramp, garden, and chapel are later modifications of an older tomb. The large shafts with enclosures in this cemetery mostly belong to about the XIXth Dynasty or a little later, and to this period the shaft and the enclosure wall perhaps belong. Now at the point where the ramp joins on to the south wall of the enclosure this latter is whitewashed, even under the joints; in other words, the ramp was added after the enclosure had been whitewashed. It is just possible to argue that the difference in date is only a matter of days, or even hours; but it is more probable that, had the whole belonged to a single conception the whole of the whitewashing would have been done at once. Moreover, we have still to deal with the model coffin found under the chapel. There is no evidence at Abydos for pushing back the use of the model coffin earlier than the XXVth or XXVIth Dynasty, and this suggests that the chapel is not earlier than that date. I therefore make the suggestion that the shaft and the enclosure were made about the XIXth Dynasty, and that the ramp, chapel, and garden are additions of a later date. All traces of both the original and the secondary burial have disappeared from the shaft.

[1] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 327.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SOUTH CEMETERY.

Position of the South Cemetery.

The region known as the south cemetery of Abydos is in reality a complex of cemeteries of various periods lying to the south of the shallow depression which leads up to the great valley, and which divides Abydos into two clear halves. On the western edge of this cemetery lie late tombs, which have been plundered by natives in years gone by. Within these is the ibis cemetery which we excavated in 1912–13, and within this again the predynastic and VIth Dynasty cemetery E. Still moving towards the cultivation, we come upon a region which has been laid waste by early excavators, who worked only the largest tombs and concealed the rest with their tip heaps. On the extreme edge of the cultivation the ground falls sharply, and it is this steep slope, about 200 metres in length, which we marked with the letters R and T, the latter being the more southerly portion, and R the more northerly. The place had been to some extent attacked by natives, lying as it did so close to their hand. In 1908–9 the greater part of it was systematically explored by Garstang, who reaped a rich harvest of finds there. In the same year some excellent work was done by Ayrton and Loat in the T region, especially on the earliest tombs there. The excavations described in this chapter were an attempt to finish the clearing of this very productive ridge.

History of the East Ridge of the Cemetery.

The earliest tombs here are the modest square shafts of the Vth or VIth Dynasty. With the exception of a few burials of the early Middle Kingdom at the south end, no further interments were made until the early XVIIIth Dynasty, when the ridge was again brought into use and burials continued throughout the Dynasty. Except for a few brick vaults of XXIst to XXVth Dynasties, there is nothing later than XVIIIth Dynasty on the ridge. We may therefore conveniently divide the burials into three classes, according as they date approximately from the VIth, XIIth, or XVIIIth Dynasty.

I.—Tombs of the Vth and VIth Dynasties.

The typical early tomb on this ridge consists of a small square shaft, brick lined at the top, about a metre square and three or four metres deep, at the bottom of which opens off a chamber.[1] In many cases the chamber is nothing more than a rough recess scooped out under one of the corners of the shaft. In other cases it is more shapely, lies under one of the sides, and is closed by a brick and mud wall. The body lies with head north, generally on the left side, often with the legs slightly drawn up. The rather short coffin, usually of wood, is in rare cases of unbaked mud and oval in form. The date of the tombs is clear from the material they contain, and also from a cylinder seal found by Garstang in one tomb, bearing the name of Mery-Ra Pepi of the VIth Dynasty.[2] The publication of the rich

[1] The denudation of the ridge has removed all trace of superstructures, if such ever existed.

[2] *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, II., p. 127.

tombs found by Garstang and by Ayrton and Loat, will probably add much to our knowledge of the products of this period. In the meantime it seems worth while to give full details of the best of the tombs excavated by ourselves on the ridge:—

R 19. Shaft, 100 by 94 cm.; chamber off west[1] side. Body in wooden coffin, disturbed. Portion of wooden head-rest and pottery vases shown on Pl. XXXII.

R 55. This shaft, 425 cm. in depth, was, unlike the rest, provided with an elaborate set of chambers, whose plan is shown in fig. 39. The

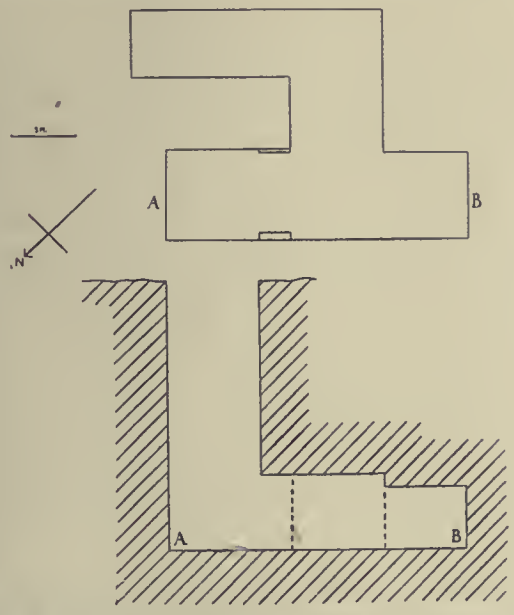


Fig. 39. Section of R 55 and plan of shaft and chambers.

door leading from the shaft into the chambers was lined with two doorposts of stone 120 cm. high, over which was a lintel of stone 50 cm. wide. All three chambers were lined with rough-hewn slabs of limestone, measuring mostly 160 by 60 cm., the interstices being filled with plaster. All the chambers had been ransacked.

R 58. Shaft, 92 by 84 cm. Chamber, 220 by 80 cm., under the whole of the west side and extending beyond the south-west corner. Height of chamber 100 cm. In it a female body on left side, legs slightly bent, and right hand up to chin; head north (fig. 40). Wooden coffin. Behind the neck a red polished pot (Pl. XXXII.).

R 102. Surface burial in sand, in a wooden coffin. Head north-west, body lying on left side, with legs and arms considerably bent. Outside the coffin, at the elbows, a tall bottle-shaped vase

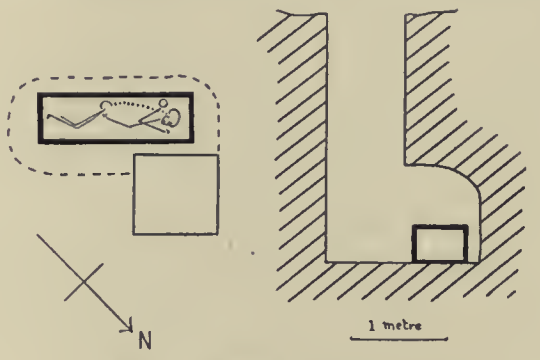


Fig. 40. Plan and section of R 58.

of grey pottery, and inside, under the feet, a smaller vase, red polished. Both are shown on Pl. XXXII. At the neck was one long carnelian barrel bead. Head removed.

R 104. Shaft, chamber to S. Male body in wooden coffin, head N., body supine, but legs raised and bent. Vase under right shoulder-blade.

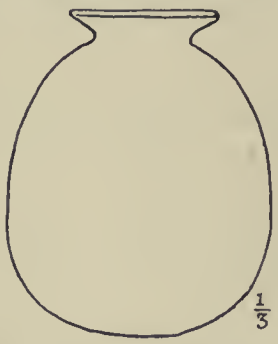


Fig. 41. Alabaster vase, R 113.

R 113. Shaft, chamber to S., broken through into shaft of R 108. Disturbed. Small copper mirror; beads of carnelian, barrel-shaped, cylindrical and spherical; beads of glazed steatite, cylindrical, long and short; fine alabaster vase (fig. 41 and Pl. X., fig. 7), actually found in shaft of R 108.

[1] The compass points are taken by river reckoning.

R 141. Female body in wooden coffin, on left side, legs and arms considerably bent, head north. Near head a needle and a punch (?) of copper. Outside the coffin, directly behind the pelvis, was a small wooden box, whitewashed like the coffin itself, measuring 17 × 18 × 17 cm. and containing a vase of type R 58 (Pl. XXXII.), in which was a little organic matter.

T 22. Shaft, chamber to north, only slightly undercut. Body in wooden coffin, disturbed. Thick alabaster vase (Pl. X., fig. 5); button seal of bone representing a man holding up a bunch of fruit (Pl. XXXVII.); small shapeless Taurt (?) amulet of bone, and a flattened barrel bead of dark blue glaze with minute fragments of light blue frit encrusted round the centre of it. In the sand above was a vase (Pl. XXXII.).

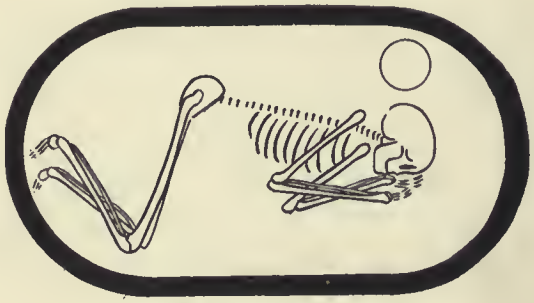


Fig. 42. Mud coffin and body, T 66.

T 25. Shaft, chamber only slightly undercut to west; body on right side, extended, head north. Wooden coffin.

T 26. Shaft, chamber to east. Female body on left side, head north.

T 27. Shaft, chamber to north. Two wooden coffins, one almost entirely in the shaft. Both bodies extended on left side, head north.

T 62. Shaft, chamber under south-west corner. Oval coffin of mud; body disturbed.

T 65. Shaft, chamber to west. Male body, extended on left side, head north. At waist a red polished vase of type R 58 on Pl. XXXII. Both arms broken above the wrist and badly set.

T 66. Shaft with slight undercutting to west to serve as chamber. Oval coffin of mud, 130 × 70 cm. Male body, on left side, knees and elbows considerably bent (fig. 42). Vase (Pl. XXXII.) behind head.

T 81. Shaft, chamber to west. Female body on left side, extended, head north, left hand under head. At the breast a vase (Pl. XXXII.). At throat a small shell containing green pigment, and under head a simple wooden head-rest. This last consisted in a rectangular block of wood, about 15 cm. in length and rather convex above, ending at either extremity in a short outward leaning horn or projection.

The material obtained from these graves is naturally rather scanty, for the tombs which we excavated were of the poorer type and lay on the extreme edge of the cemetery, the richer part of which had been completely cleared by Garstang and by Ayrton and Loat. Perhaps the most interesting object found was the extremely fine button seal, than which there are few better specimens. The dark blue glaze bead with lighter incrustation, found in the same tomb, takes the origin of this type back to the VIth Dynasty. It is common in the XIIth, and, in a larger form, it occurs as late as the time of Thothmes III.

The pottery types are shown on Pl. XXXII. Most of them are well known. There are three distinct wares.

1. A fine rather brittle ware made of clean brownish red clay, covered with a brick red slip of heamatite and carefully polished. This material is the direct descendant of the predynastic red polished ware. In the early predynastic period it is of a rich red brown, which later gives way to a plum red. This again is replaced in the Ist Dynasty by a much lighter red ware, often pebble-polished in stripes. This continues in use with slight variations throughout the early dynasties, becoming particularly frequent from the IVth to the VIth. In the VIth Dynasty it reaches its zenith, and in the

period which follows it deteriorates very much.[1] The red polished wares of the XIIth Dynasty have a very different appearance.

In the VIth Dynasty this material is used only for the smaller vases, which are wheel-made.

2. A slightly coarser ware, firing to a grey, yellowish or buff colour. There is no polish, and it is often difficult to say whether there is a true slip. This is used for all the larger vases, and even the pear-shaped vases of medium size. In a few instances it has quite a coarse appearance, due simply to failure to purify the clay.

3. A rough ware made of dirty clay full of grit, used only for vases of large tubular type (Pl. XXXII., top right-hand corner). These vases are well fired and vary in colour from brown to brick red. Their surface is full of holes and very rough to the touch. They are hand-made. They are occasionally built into the uppermost courses in the brick lining of the shafts, and were perhaps made for funerary purposes alone. The form is a development of a very old type which runs throughout the early dynasties. It occurs as late as the VIth Dynasty tombs of Cemetery E, but has disappeared before the date of the earliest tombs in S. On the other hand, the mastaba cemetery D (about IVth Dynasty) did not yield it in its developed form, which we may therefore attribute to the Vth and VIth Dynasties approximately.

It is just possible that this cemetery went out of use at the time when Cemetery E was begun, in which case none of the tombs in E are likely to be earlier than VIth Dynasty. It seems clear that in Abydos, at least, the development of the tomb was from the short shaft, with roughly-cut recess under any of the sides or under a corner, to the long shaft with a well-cut chamber at the north or south end. The long shafts of E are of a type which is certainly later in origin than that seen in R and T; and in E, moreover, we have a few tombs which show the transition stage, for they are short, almost square, and have a rough chamber under one of the longer sides. At the same time, an old type often continues in use side by side with a later type which is derived from it, and it may be that the square shafts on the ridge are an example of this.

[1] Some examples from E are probably later than VIth Dynasty.

II.—Tombs of the Early Middle Kingdom.

There are only four tombs in this cemetery which can be definitely assigned to the Middle Kingdom. They lie close together at the extreme south end of the ridge. The details are as follows:—

T 87. Rectangular shaft, oriented north and south by the river. Near the top was an intrusive burial of a child, with various beads and amulets of blue glaze, not earlier than the XVIIIth Dynasty. Below this was a vase of well-known early Middle Kingdom type (cf. Pl. XXVIII., pottery of Cemetery S, top row). Lower still was a chamber to the north. The body had been disturbed, and yielded only a few long cylindrical blue glaze beads, and pieces of a mud wig of the type found in Cemetery S (Pl. VII., fig. 4).

T 78. Rectangular shaft. Body in shaft itself, head north, slightly contracted on left side.

T 76. Rectangular shaft. In the top of the filling a scarab of Thothmes III. Further down in shaft a female body, extended, prone, head north, bones of an infant near the head. In the south-east corner of the grave was a vase similar to that of T 87, at the left hand of the body a small blue glaze scarab (Pl. XXXVII.), and at the neck a necklace of small black glaze beads with a small plaque of blue glaze as a centre-piece.

T 73. Rectangular shaft, chamber to south. Body disturbed. Small blue glaze scarab (Pl.

XXXVII.) and three vases, two of the same type as that found in T 87, the third a rough hemispherical bowl.

With regard to 73, 76, and 87, there can be no possible doubt about the date. The tall vase found in each case is of a type which does not appear in the VIth Dynasty. It is easily distinguishable from the wares of that period, not only by its shape, but also by its peculiar gritty clay and surface. In the earlier part of Cemetery S it is frequent, though it does not occur in the later part. In Cemetery E, which seems to cover the VIth Dynasty, and probably extends into the dark period which followed, it is wanting. We may therefore place it with safety in the early Middle Kingdom. With this agrees the evidence of the scarabs. Newberry long ago attributed this type to the rise of the Middle Kingdom, mainly on the evidence of two examples found at Mahasna.[1] Petrie, too, is of the same opinion, and brings it into connection with the button seals, many of which have very similar geometrical patterns. The black (or very dark blue) glaze beads of 76 occur in the earlier tombs of Cemetery S. Thus everything agrees in leading us to attribute these tombs to the early Middle Kingdom. T 78 may with great probability be classed with them. In the first place, it lies in their midst; secondly, the fact that its shaft is rectangular makes it unlikely that it belongs to the VIth Dynasty group, which is characterized by the square shaft; and thirdly, the contraction of the body separates it from the XVIIIth Dynasty tombs, and suggests a date not later than the XIIth Dynasty.

III.—Burials of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

The tombs of the XVIIIth Dynasty consist almost entirely of rectangular shafts oriented north and south by river reckoning, with a chamber at one or both ends. There were also on the ridge a few tombs of the vaulted brick chamber type belonging to this epoch (see Chapter VIII.), but they were few and badly damaged. Several burials in the surface sand are to be attributed to the same period.

The following are the more important tombs:—

R 16. Chamber at each end, both badly disturbed. In the shaft, four blue glaze scarabs and a rectangular seal (Pl. XXXVII.) with a Horus bird on one side, a leaden ear-ring, a shell ear-ring, and the head and feet of a very fine limestone statuette (Pl. XIV., figs. 9 and 10). In the south chamber were some shells and blue glaze beads, two bronze ear-rings, and a plain blue glaze scaraboid. In the north chamber there were four shells and a small shell ring. The pottery found in this tomb is of types known and drawn from other tombs, the references to which are given below. The group is dated by a scarab with the name of Amenhetep I.

Pottery found in the shaft:—

(*a*) Thirty-one of the usual tube pots, mostly of red ware, with a tendency to widen a little below. One is of fine thin buff ware, and is of the form of the wider tube pot in the group R 51 (Pl. XXXIII.).

(*b*) A very small hemispherical vase of rough thick red ware with a black rim. This ware is doubtless connected with the so-called pan pottery which occurs in Egypt in the Intermediate Period and early XVIIIth Dynasty. It resembles closely the roughest examples of this, but differs completely from the predynastic black-topped ware. (Now in the Ashmolean.)

(*c*) Several ring-stands, some with whitened rims.

(*d*) Fragments of bowls of red polished ware with white spots (cf. Pl. XIII., fig. 1).

[1] *Scarabs*, p. 70.

(*e*) Large jar of buff ware (cf. Pl. XXXI., X 52, top row, centre).
(*f*) Pl. XXIX., bottom right-hand corner.
(*g*) Pl. XXIX., C 52, bottom left corner.
(*h*) Pl. XXX., W 10, top left, but a little less tall.
(*k*) Pl. XXXIII., R 51, top row, second from left.
(*l*) Pl. XXX., top left corner, buff ware without incision.
(*m*) Pl. XXX., W 17, second from right.
(*n*) Pl. XXX., W 11, bottom, left.

In north chamber.

(*o*) Several ring-stands.
(*p*) Fragments of a red polished bowl with white spots.
(*q*) Four tube pots.
(*r*) Pl. XXXI., X 64, left bottom corner.
(*s*) Pl. XXX., W 11, left top corner.
(*t*) Pl. XXXII. Vase above right bottom corner; red ware, incised before firing.
(*u*) Two large conical lids with a knob at the apex and white rims.
(*v*) Pl. XXXII., R 108; top row, third from left, buff ware with a single scroll band round the shoulder.
(*w*) Pl. XXXIII. Top row, second from right.
(*x*) Pl. XXX., W 6, top left, but wider at the mouth.
(*y*) Pl. XXXIII., B 12, bottom row, centre; with slight foot.
(*z*) Pl. XXIX., bottom left corner.

R 18. Four chambers, all disturbed. In upper south, torso of fine limestone figure of the same type as that found in R 16, but slightly smaller (Pl. XIV., fig. 8), two rough flints, an ebony kohl stick, a leaden ear-ring, a copper or bronze rivet, beads of blue glaze and of glass. The pottery is shown on Pl. XXXIII. The tall bowl on the bottom row is of fine thin buff ware with a red rim. The upper north chamber was never finished, as it cut into R 19. In the lower south chamber were fragments of a wooden sarcophagus and of a gilded stucco mask, part of a head-rest, and the following vases of pottery.

(*a*) Pl. XXXI., X 64, top left.
(*b*) Pl. XXX., W 6, top left, wider mouth.
(*c*) A small tube pot.
(*d*) A tall ring-stand with both rims whitened.
(*e*) Two bowls of type Pl. XXXI., X 64, left column, fourth from bottom, one of plain pink ware, the other of red ware white spotted.
(*f*) Two bowls Pl. XXIX., C 6, bottom right.
(*g*) Small hemispherical bowl Pl. XXIX., C 6, left centre.
(*h*) Bottle-shaped vase of buff ware Pl. XXXIII., R 51, top row, second from left, but rather shorter.
(*k*) Pl. XXX., W 11, left top.

In lower north chamber a bronze ring, a carnelian bead, two scarabs (Pl. XXXVII.), one

Fig. 43. Alabaster vase, R 18.

of blue glaze, and the other of black stone, a small alabaster kohl pot (fig. 43), and three vases.

(*l*) Same as *b*, above.
(*m*) Pl. XXXIII., R 51, wider tube pot.
(*n*) Pl. XXX., W 3, right column, third from bottom.

R 51. Chamber to north and to south. In the shaft a tube pot and a vase similar to *x* in R 16.

In north chamber, body, disturbed; three vases in position where the head had been, two of them tube pots, and the third of type Pl. XXXIII., top right corner. In the south chamber was the pottery shown on Pl. XXXIII.

R. 59. Chamber to north and to south; both disturbed. From south chamber pieces of gold

foil, the steatopygous figure Pl. XIV., fig. 1, two inlaid eyes, a glass bead, and some long beads of blue glaze.

R 108. Chamber to north and to south, badly disturbed. At the bottom of the shaft were the objects shown on Pl. XIV., fig. 7. The glazes are mainly of a magnificent rich deep blue, though a few of the long beads are black. The large discoid beads are slightly convex on either side. There were also small discoid beads of shell, small spherical beads of garnet, an ear-ring of broad copper or bronze ribbon fluted longitudinally, and the pottery Pl. XXXII.

The structure of the tomb was interesting in one respect. The cutting of the south chamber had broken through into the north chamber of an earlier shaft which lay immediately to the

Fig. 44. Alabaster vase, R 109.

south. This did not deter the diggers, for they cleared out the old shaft, emptied the old chamber and made it serve as south chamber to the new shaft. As the simple expedient of bricking up the entrance to the chamber from the old shaft would have made the chamber rather short, they set the bricking half a metre back into the old shaft, built it up nearly to the height of the chamber roof, and roughly arched it over at the top so as completely to close the chamber. Finally they refilled the old shaft.

R 109 yielded the alabaster kohl-pot fig. 44.

T 3. Chamber to north and to south. In top of shaft, a late burial, extended, supine, head south. Lower in the shaft the following group of objects:—nine vases of fine buff clay of the so-called Syrian type (Pl. XIV., fig. 13), three pieces of pink organ coral, an alabaster mortar and two pestles (fig. 45 and Pl. XIV., fig. 20), two blue glaze scarabs (Pl. XXXVII.), one bearing the name of Thothmes I., a bronze hook and tweezers, a gold ear-ring, beads of blue glaze, glass and shell, a few blue glaze amulets and two of black stone, and a small alabaster kohl-pot with lid (fig. 45). Of the beads and amulets a few came from the north chamber. In the south chamber were the remains of several disturbed burials, one of which was that of a child, with seven light blue glaze amulets at the neck. In the chamber were also a bronze vase (fig. 45 and Pl. XIV., fig. 20), a small vase of fine unpolished buff material (fig. 45), and a pear-shaped pendant of rock crystal.

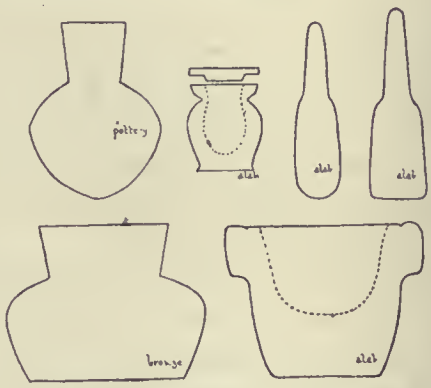


Fig. 45. Objects from T 3. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

T 4. Shaft with chamber to south. In this a child's body on the left side, extended, head north. The burial is probably intrusive, as the few small objects found seem to belong partly to the XIIth partly to the XVIIIth Dynasty. In the chamber was also found the large jar Pl. XXXIII., T 4, containing the bones of an ibis.

T 41. Disturbed burial in surface sand. Scarab Pl. XXXVII.

T 67. Shaft with chamber to north, completely lined with finely dressed slabs of limestone and with doorposts and lintel of the same. In the shaft lay the plundered coffin and a set of miniature vases (Pl. XV., fig. 15), some of

unbaked mud, others of the same material baked to a bright red.

T 71. Two chambers to south, the upper empty. In the lower were the following objects, most of which are shown on Pl. XV., fig. 14:— fragments of two painted coffins, a bronze mirror, a scarab and a cowroid (see also Pl. XXXVII.), a gold ring with elliptical bezel bearing the inscription ⊙ 𓋴 𓈖, three gold ear-rings, two small Bez amulets of blue glaze, seven pendants of gold leaf, two very small bronze figures, an eye amulet of green stone, beads and clasp of gold foil, blue glaze and carnelian beads.

T 91. Shaft. Near the top in the north-west corner a child's body, head east, in a wooden coffin. Lower in the shaft the body of a woman on the left side, head north, in a wooden coffin. At the right hand, which was raised to the chin, were some blue glaze beads and a blue glaze stamp, and at the left hand a scarab of blue glaze (Pl. XXXVII.). Also a blue glaze hedgehog and various blue glaze beads, one shaped like a *dad* amulet.

Little comment is needed on this group of XVIIIth Dynasty tombs. It will easily be perceived that they belong to two distinct periods, those of the R group being earlier than those of the T group. The pottery of the former is still very close in its style and forms to that of the Intermediate Period tombs in the north cemetery, while that of the latter already includes the "Syrian" wares which seem to have come into fashion in the reign of Thothmes III., if not a little earlier. With this the evidence of the scarabs agrees. In the R group they are of early XVIIIth Dynasty types, most of them being characterised by the sloping up of the back from the head towards the abdomen, and the oval as opposed to elliptical base. One example is moreover definitely datable to Amenhetep I. In the T group the earliest dated scarab is that of T 3, which bears the cartouche of Thothmes I. The scarab found with the burial in the top of shaft T 76 has the name of Thothmes III. The smallness of the shafts in the T group, and the occasional mixture of objects in them, make it probable that all these tombs were constructed in the early Middle Kingdom, and that most of them were re-used in the XVIIIth Dynasty. Those which retained their earlier burials have already been described in the second section of this chapter.

In the shaft of one of these tombs of Region R was found the stela fragment (Pl. XXIV., fig. 6), with an interesting representation of the scene of Nut in the tree giving offerings to the *ba* of the deceased.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE VAULTED TOMBS OF BRICK.

In almost every part of the site of Abydos, but especially near the edge of cultivation, there are to be found numerous tombs built of brick with a flown barrel vault. The vault itself lies just beneath the level of the ground, but it is almost certain that it was in all cases surmounted by a superstructure of some description. The richness of many of these tombs, added to the ease with which they could be attacked, has rendered them the prey of the plunderer throughout all ages, and they have mostly been so thoroughly ransacked that not a single object remains. For this reason it is difficult to date particular examples and to determine the exact order of the architectural development of this type of tomb. Certain facts, however, are beyond doubt.

In the XIIth Dynasty the typical tomb at Abydos was a deep shaft, with one or more chambers at the bottom, and above it a mastaba. After the XIIth Dynasty this type of tomb underwent a twofold development. In the first place the mastaba was enlarged and made more complex; this change probably began during the Intermediate Period (see for example C 3 and C 6 above, p. 56). Out of this arose the complicated mastabas and courts of the XVIIIth to XXIInd Dynasties on the high ridge near the stela of Neferhotep, which have been so well worked out and described by Mace. In the second place the pit itself was modified. Instead of sinking a narrow shaft and opening chambers off it at the bottom, the tomb-digger sometimes preferred to sink a shallow pit, large enough to contain both shaft and chamber, and to build up the chamber in this with bricks, covering it with a flown vault which lay not far beneath the surface. The shaft was also lined with brick and gave access to the chamber through a low arched doorway. At first the orientation of the shaft and its chamber, or chambers, remained the same as that of the older type from which it was derived, viz. north and south by river reckoning; but in later times, when greater variety prevailed in the orientation of tombs and bodies, the long axis was placed east and west, and the shaft instead of being at the north or south end (in cases where there was but one vault) was placed at the east or west end. If a reason be desired for the change from the deep shaft with its rock chamber to the shallow shaft with its brick vault it may perhaps be sought in the wish to enlarge the tomb chamber and make the burial more imposing. To enlarge the old-fashioned rock chamber in rock so crumbly as that of Abydos was dangerous, if not impossible, without the introduction of a brick lining, and accordingly in some tombs of the XIIth Dynasty and just later we find rock-cut chambers of large size lined with brick. Even this, however, would often fail to prevent collapse, and it was doubtless found more practicable to make a large cutting in the surface of the rock and to build up within it a brick chamber with a vault.[1]

[1] There may quite possibly have been a passing stage in the development where a brick vault was attached to a *deep* shaft, but the inconvenience of sinking a large pit to such a depth would rapidly cause this type to pass away. It is, however, curious that there is a survival of it in the XXVth Dynasty, as for example in the tomb of Ast-en-kheb (*El Amrah and Abydos*, Pl. xxvii.), though here the space above the vaulted chamber is filled not with sand but with a false chamber and vault. Cf., too, Garstang, *El Arabah*, Pl. xxxv., E 11.

This change apparently took place in Abydos during the XVIIIth Dynasty, perhaps not earlier than the reign of Thothmes III.[1] To that period, or slightly later, is to be dated a magnificent example of this type of tomb found by Garstang in the region which we have called R; this tomb had two vaults and a shaft between them, and alongside the shaft lay a concealed passage, in which were the richest burials of the whole tomb. Another good example of the same period is D 114, found in 1912–13,[2] and a similar tomb (M 1) is described on p. 91 below.

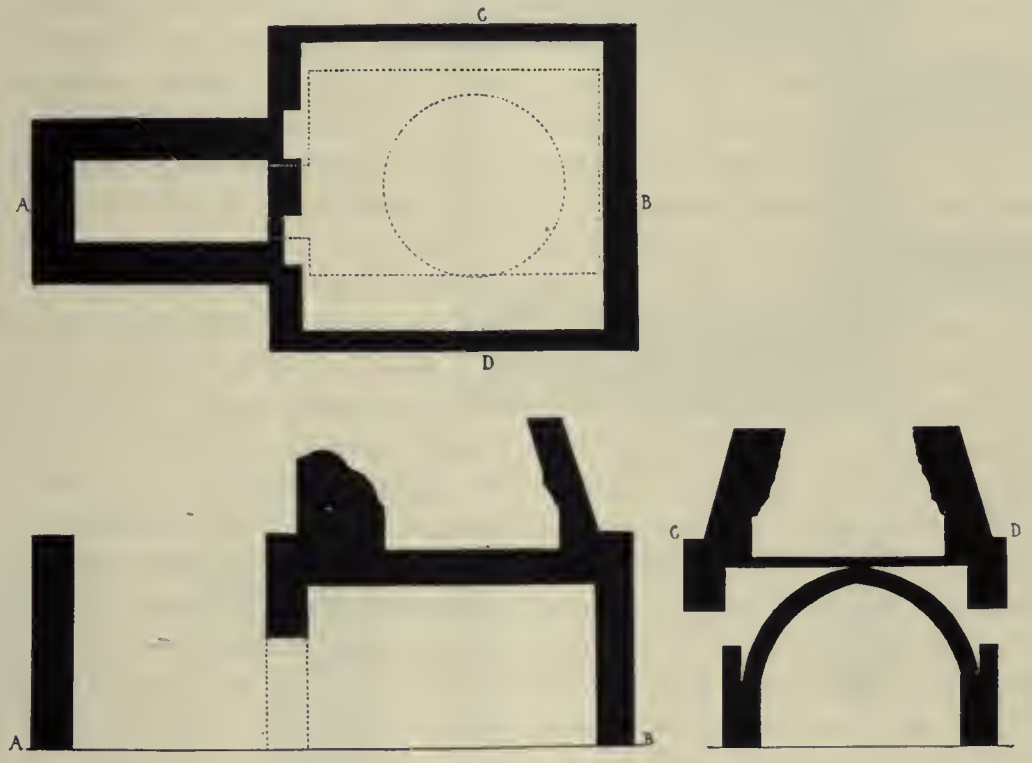


Fig. 46. Plan and sections of Y 9. Scale $\frac{1}{50}$.

The earliest examples of the vaulted tomb at Abydos are unfortunately so damaged and denuded that it is no longer possible to determine the form of their superstructures, for such they doubtless had in many cases, if not in all. It is, however, probable that it was of the same type as that placed over the tomb of the old shaft and chamber type. I have not in any of the early Abydos examples seen any indication of a superstructure built on to the vault itself, as was the case in later times. There is, however, one tomb which seems to mark the transition stage between the early vault, with mastaba built separately over it, and the later type (probably XXVIth to XXXth Dynasties), in which the walls of the vault are continued upwards above it to form a rectangular building of some kind, so that vault and mastaba form a single structure. This transition tomb is Y 9 (Fig. 46, Pl. XXII., fig. 3). It consists of a rectangular vault, 232 × 223 cm. inner measurement, with a shaft at its east end measuring 152 × 65 cm. and 189 in depth. The shaft is not placed symmetrically with regard to the axis of the vault, but lies a a few centimetres to the north. From it a low arched door, 88 cm. high, gives access to the vault. So far the structure differs in no respect

[1] An early example of the brick vault occurs near Dêr el Medineh at Thebes, but this is entered not by a vertical but by a sloping passage. It is in form more a copy of the Theban Tombs of the Kings. In the tomb of Teta-ky (early XVIIIth Dynasty), found by Lord Carnarvon, the barrel vault is used in the chapel, though the actual burial chambers are hewn in the rock.

[2] See *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III., p. 30.

from the later examples, and its east and west orientation alone distinguishes it from the earlier. But now let the section CD be examined. It will be seen that the side walls are not continued upwards to support the superstructure, but after rising a few centimetres to give extra support to the spring of the vault they stop short, so that in this section the superstructure and the vault appear entirely independent structurally. That they are not quite so, however, will be seen from the section AB, where it is clear that the end walls which close the vault form a support for the east and west sides of the superstructure, which are actually bonded up with them, though only roughly, at their centres. This support, however, is not given along the whole length of these two sides, for the end walls of the vault are not, when seen in elevation, perfectly rectangular, but fall away towards the top, narrowing as the vault which they have to close narrows, and being left quite rough at their ends.

Here, then, there is some slight structural connection between vault and superstructure, and I am inclined to see in this tomb the germ of the later type built in a single piece. To complete the description of Y 9 we must describe the superstructure itself. As will be seen from the photograph and sections it is in the form of a truncated pyramid. It rests on a platform formed of a single layer of bricks lying directly above the top of the vault, the space between the two being filled up with sand and pieces of brick without mortar. This base was reinforced round its edges by a wall which descended four or five courses, resting on the end walls of the vault to the east and west, and on the sand to the north and south. Its top formed a ledge, 16 cm. wide, round the base of the pyramid outside. The hollow space enclosed inside by the walls of the pyramid had a circular base with a diameter of 155 cm. For four courses the walls rose vertically, but above this they began to be corbelled inwards quite roughly. The height of the pyramid above the top of the shaft is 68 cm., but there is no evidence to show whether it stood any higher, or, if so, how much. Outside the pyramid is plain on all sides, except that to the east, *i.e.* over the shaft, a rectangular niche 52 cm. wide is built on to it, in order probably to hold the stela. The batter of the sides is 5 in 16.

The objects found in this tomb were unfortunately insufficient to date it with any accuracy, They might, however, well belong to the period between the XXIInd and XXVth Dynasties. Judging from the style of the *shabtis* it can hardly be later than this. The fully developed brick tomb with vault and mastaba in one piece seems, judging by Mace's evidence, to have come into use about the XXVth Dynasty.

We may now leave the question of the origin and development of the vaulted tomb, and examine it as it appears in its final form in the XXVIth to XXXth Dynasties.

As an example of this later type of vault we may take the tomb Z 14, plan and sections of which are shown in fig. 47. There is no new feature in the plan, which is taken at the level of the top of the shaft walls in order to show the position of the circular construction above. It will, however, be noticed that the walls are thicker and more solid than in Y 9, for they have to support the weight of the superstructure. In the sections AB and CD the difference between this vault and the last will at once be perceived. The four side walls of the superstructure are continued unbroken down to the level of the floor of the vault. Two of these, naturally those to east and west, form the walls which close the ends of the vault, but they do not narrow towards the top as did those of Y 9, but form a perfect rectangle when seen in elevation, and are bonded at the corners with the north and south walls. These two last are not an essential part of the structure of the vault proper, but they descend outside it, and the spaces between are filled in with solid masonry, as is clear from section CD. In this building, then, vault and

superstructure form a single mass of masonry, which can be completely cleared of sand without falling to pieces as Y 9 would do if this were attempted. Of the superstructure little remains. There is, however, sufficient to show that it was pyramidal, probably truncated, with a sharp batter. Inside, the corners were so filled up with bricks that the whole formed a circle. The sides of this rose for three courses vertically and then began to be corbelled inwards.

and yet only stood a few courses in height. He therefore argues that the superstructure was a mastaba, filled with the gravel taken out in excavating the tomb. Here he is in all probability right. We ourselves observed several cases where the wall of the superstructure, though only a few courses high, seemed to be quite complete and unbroken, though the affirmation must always be made with caution, for it is astonishing with what regularity these mud

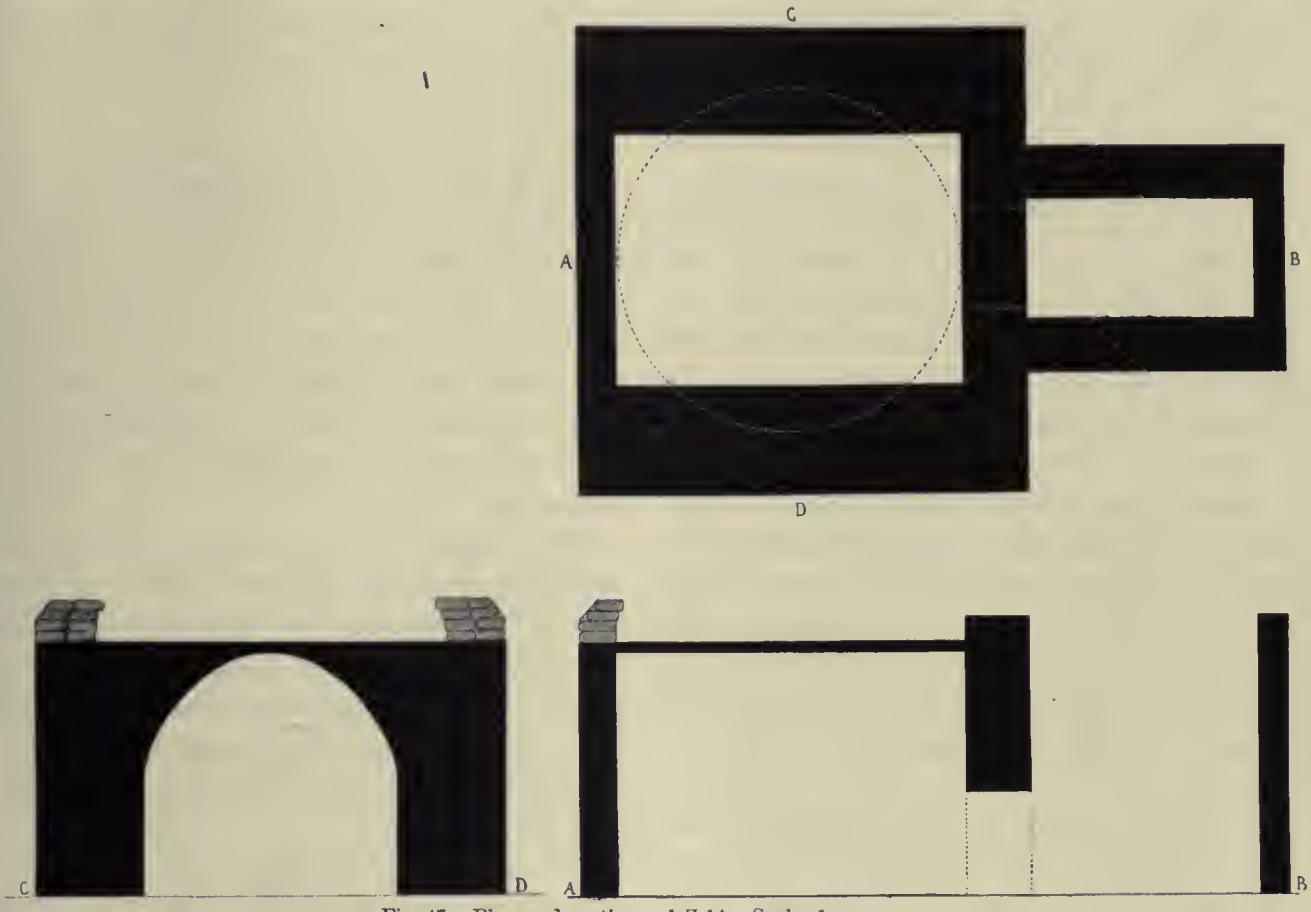


Fig. 47. Plan and sections of Z 14. Scale $\frac{1}{50}$.

But what was the form of the superstructures when intact? Mariette has restored them as pyramids, Petrie thinks they were merely truncated pyramids filled with gravel, and Mace considers them to have been domes. Mariette's restoration has been attacked by Petrie,[1] who quotes an instance where the walls of the superstructure seemed to have been perfectly preserved

brick buildings sometimes become denuded course by course.

Petrie brings a second argument to support his hypothesis, and that is the absence in the examples excavated by him of the great mass of bricks which must have been found had a pyramid fallen in ruins over the vault. The same fact was very noticeable in our own excavations. In the vaulted tombs of Cemetery E, the pyramids, had they existed, must have been of considerable

[1] *Abydos*, I., pp. 36–7.

size, yet in no case did we find any traces of their ruins over the vaults.

Mace, on the other hand, supposed that the superstructure was in the form of a dome,[1] and that a pyramidal casing was probably added outside it rising to a point above it. "Before the pyramidal casing was added," he says, "Tomb D 47 must have presented very much the appearance of an Arab *weli*." It may be that he is right here, but as no dome was preserved in its entirety at the time of the excavation it is not possible to be certain. I have examined the tombs in question, which have suffered very little since Mace's time, and I can nowhere find absolute proof of the existence of a complete dome. The insides of the superstructures are roughly corbelled, while the outside is pyramidal in form. Now this corbelling is a structural necessity, for if the pyramid or mastaba is not to be solid, but merely filled with sand, a certain amount of thickness in the walls, especially at the corners, is necessary, and the circular shape with a gradual corbel is the most natural solution. This seems to be borne out by an examination of two of the finest examples of this type of tomb at Abydos, apparently dug by Mariette. Here the corbelling is so slight and gradual, and rises to such a height without closing in, that it is almost impossible to suppose that a dome was intended.

The most probable solution is, therefore, that these tombs were surmounted by a mastaba-like construction, *i.e.* a truncated pyramid. At the same time, Mace may just be right in supposing some at least of them to have been domed within.

This type of tomb is sometimes double, that is to say, it contains two parallel vaults under the one superstructure, each with its own shaft.[2] In the case of a very large tomb, X 7, excavated in 1912–13, there are actually three parallel barrel vaults. This tomb is of enormous size and depth, and after we had at some risk cleared the central vault, the position became so dangerous that we did not feel justified in continuing, unless we were prepared to dig the whole of the masonry out. This would have involved over a month's work, and as it was clear that all three chambers had been plundered it was not worth while to undertake it. For the contents of the central chamber see below (p. 94). The burial probably dates from about the XXVth Dynasty.

In the Ptolemaic period this type of tomb seems to have been slightly modified, for the circular inside to the superstructure is entirely wanting in certain late examples in Cemetery E, and the superstructure itself seems to have consisted of a low mastaba, or even (in one case) of a rectangular structure enclosed by a low wall with no batter whatsoever. The description of these late vaults is given below in Mr. Droop's own words:—

"The vaulted brick tombs of the later dynasties, of which many were found in Cemetery E, consist usually of one oblong vaulted chamber, built of mud brick, entered by an arched doorway in the centre of one end, usually the north, to which access was obtained by a vertical shaft, sometimes with a sloping bottom (fig. 50).

"In most cases denudation rendered the exact form of the upper part of the structure uncertain, but in one instance, E 456 (fig. 48), the top was undamaged, and showed a batter skirting, beginning at 85 cm. from the top, produced by laying each of the last eight courses of bricks slightly back from the rest below. Of this 60 cm. was parapet above the roof. The exact level of the sand at the time the tombs were built is, of course, uncertain, but the probability is that this batter alone showed above the ground. In most of the tombs the beginnings of a similar batter were observed.

[1] *El Amrah and Abydos*, p. 65.

[2] *Op. cit.*, Pl. xxviii., 1–4; *Abydos*, I., Pl. lxxx., G 38; Garstang, *El Arabah*, Pl. xxxvi., E 173.

"The only other case in which the structure seemed complete on top is that of E 404, where the walls rise straight without the batter, and the roof is surrounded by a parapet 35 cm. high (fig. 49).

"The vaulting was either single or double (figs. 49 and 50). The bricks were placed end to end across the span, but were hollowed slightly on the under edge to give a continuous curve, and their sides were channelled longitudinally to give sufficient grip to support the next curve, for the vaulting was so built as to dispense with a centering. Thus the bricks were laid end to end, with their sides not perpendicular, but so sloping that each succeeding course could be laid without other support than that which it received from the course which it overlaid and slightly overlapped. This made it necessary to build up from each end four or five partial courses, consisting of one, two, three, four, or five bricks, to support the first complete arch, since, the whole course slanting, when the upper bricks rested against the end wall the lowest brick was necessarily the thickness of four or five bricks away from it. Correspondingly, when the other end of the vault was reached the lowest brick met the end wall first, and the space above it had to be filled in by partial courses.

"In many of the tombs this one vaulting was held sufficient, but in others, including most of the larger vaults, an outer casing was added, the bricks being laid across those of the inner coat and edge to edge with them (fig. 50). In one tomb only, E 440 (fig. 51), an outer vault was found with bricks laid end to end over the span, as in the inner vault.

"The space between the vaulting and the walls was filled, as far as possible, with regular courses of bricks supplemented by mud.

"The roof varied in thickness, but was seldom more than two bricks thick above the top of the vault.

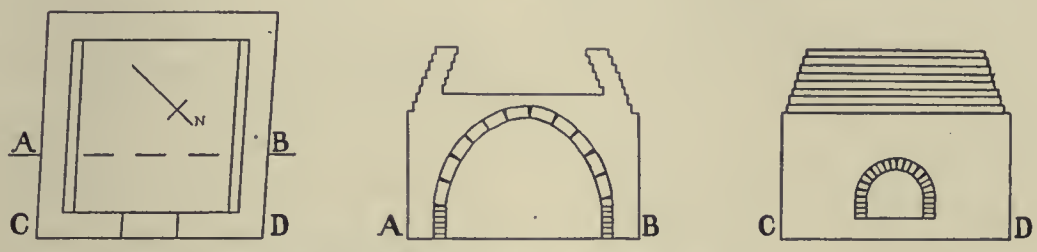


Fig. 48. Plan and sections of E 456. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

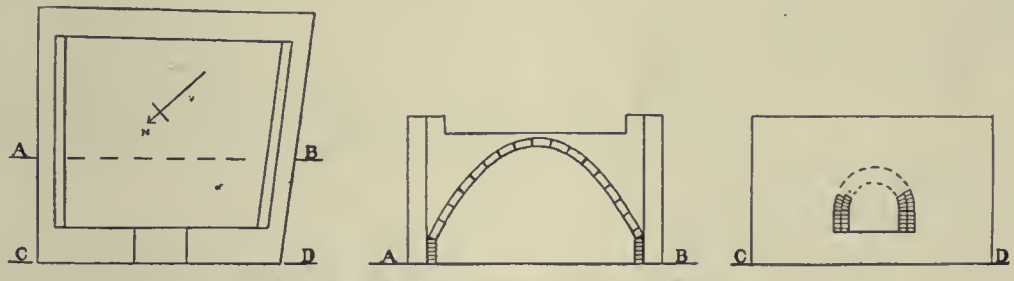


Fig. 49. Plan and sections of E 404. Scale $\frac{1}{100}$.

"The door, which had either a single or double arch of bricks laid side by side across the span, usually had its threshold rather less than a metre above the virgin sand which formed the floor. It was always closed by a wall, which in every case had been more or less broken down by plunderers. In one case, however, the threshold was flush with the floor, but this tomb, E 440, is exceptional besides, not only in

its vaulting, but in that the door is in one of the long sides and not at an end, and is approached not by a vertical shaft lined only with one course of bricks, but with an arched tunnel, to which access was obtained by a square shaft (fig. 51 and Pl. XXII., fig. 2), and it was at the outer end of this tunnel that the sealing wall was built. This shaft was also remarkable in having built on to its upper wall, resting on the batter of the next tomb, E 456, a small rectangular structure consisting of two walls and a cross

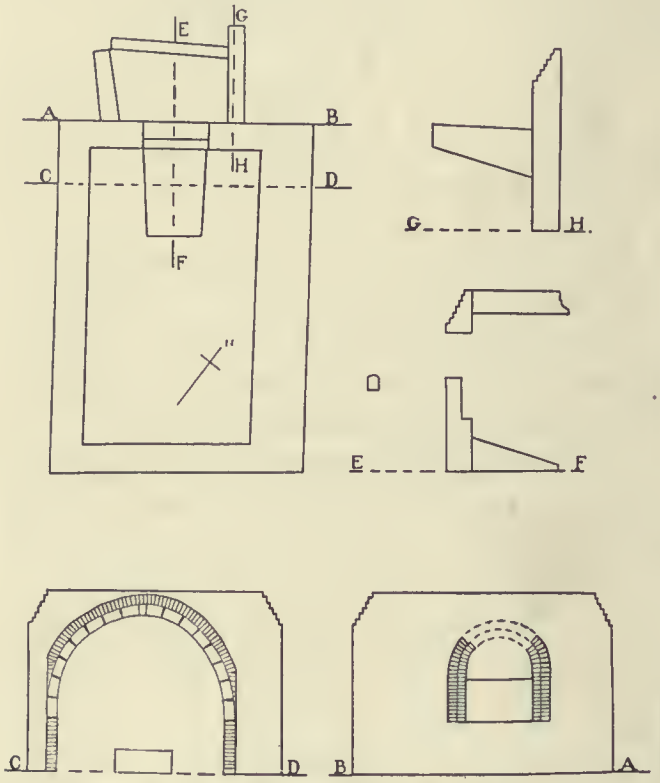


Fig. 50. Plan and sections of E 460. Scale $\frac{1}{150}$.

wall (on left in photograph), which probably protruded above ground to mark the position of the shaft.

"In one tomb only, E 460, was any device apparent for simplifying the task of lowering the heavy limestone coffins to their place.[1] Here there was a sloping ramp built almost to the threshold on the inside (fig. 50).

[1] In tomb E 273, in *El Arabah*, Pl. xxxv., there are steps in the shaft.

"These tombs were plastered with mud both inside and out to a thickness of two or three centimetres. The bricks used vary in size from tomb to tomb but always keep similar proportions, and never exceed the limit of 35 to 30 cm. in length, 17 to 15 cm. in width, and 8 to 6 cm. in thickness. In the mud which served as mortar in many cases small pieces of limestone were found.

"The usual thickness of wall is from 55 cm. to 50 cm., which is, allowing for the binding mud, the length of one brick with the width of another.

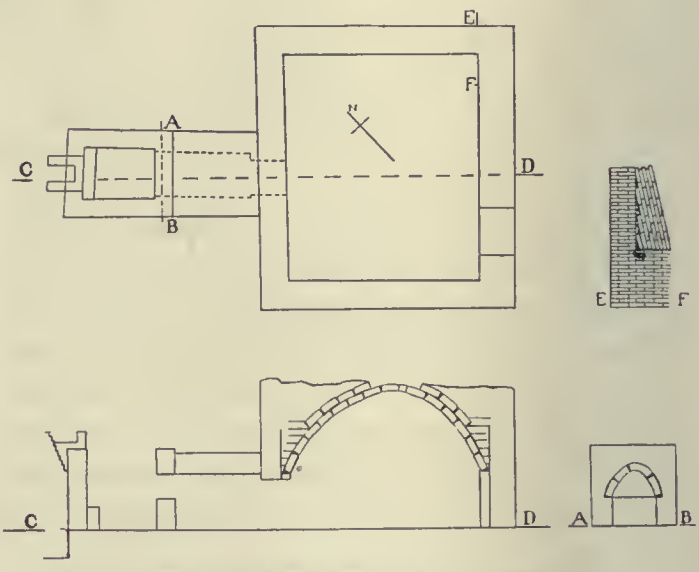


Fig. 51. Plan, sections and sketch of E 440. Scale $\frac{1}{150}$.

There is always along the sides an inner wall one brick in thickness, on which the vaulting rests."

Concise History of the Vaulted Tomb.

The history of the vaulted tomb of brick may be shortly summed up as follows:—

First stage. XVIIIth Dynasty. The old deep shaft with chamber hewn in the rock is modified by the introduction of a brick lining to the chamber, which is also enlarged. Mastaba on surface.

Second stage (hypothetical). A *deep* pit is sunk, sufficient to contain both shaft and chamber, and the chamber is built up of brick

with a barrel vault and then covered with sand. Mastaba on surface. Examples of this stage survive in the XXVth Dynasty.

Third stage. XVIIIth Dynasty. Both shaft and chamber are much decreased in depth. Mastaba on surface.

Fourth stage. Before XXVth Dynasty (?). East and west orientation begins to occur. Superstructure, probably a truncated pyramid, partly supported on end walls of vault.

Fifth stage. About XXVth Dynasty. Superstructure and vault united to form a single building. Superstructure probably a truncated pyramid, circular within and corbelled. Two or even three vaults placed under one superstructure.

Sixth stage. About Ptolemaic period. Superstructure on larger vaults a low mastaba or a mere skirting to the roof.

The dates given do not pretend to complete accuracy and are only the product of the observation of some thirty datable examples. Any type may of course survive along with the newer fashion into a later period. No notice has been taken of the very complicated variants of these simple types which occur from the XXVth Dynasty onward and which do not affect the main line of development.

Along with the rise of the brick vault goes the adoption of the heavy limestone coffin. This has a simple explanation. The shallow vault only just below the surface was clearly more open to disturbance than the deep rock chamber, and the massive limestone coffin, whose lid often reached to within a few centimetres of the vault and weighed several hundred pounds, presented a serious obstacle to the would-be plunderer. In a narrow chamber, dark and crowded with several coffins of this nature (see Pl. XXII., fig. 1), it must often have been a matter of several hours to make a breach in any one of them. In the vault S 201 we found the remains of several heavy stelae of the Middle Kingdom which had been sadly battered by being used to break open a great limestone coffin.

Contents of the Vaults.

It now only remains to give some idea of the contents of these tombs. Only one, E 422, was found intact, and that owing solely to an accident. In the rest the most complete confusion prevailed. The coffins had been broken to pieces and the mummies torn apart, and almost stripped of their wrappings in the search for gold (see Pl. XXII., fig. 6). Nothing was found in position, and the objects recovered were the product of days of sieving among the accumulated dust and sand.

The vaults which can safely be attributed to the XVIIIth Dynasty are as follows :—

M 1. Shaft to south of vault. Remains of eight burials, all completely upset. Pottery vase of the pilgrim bottle type with two handles (cf. T 3 on Pl. XXXIII.). Kohl tube of limestone with figure of a monkey (Pl. XIV., fig. 12), bone borer, four scarabs, one small, of jasper, with the signs $\odot$, $\sqcup$, and the rest of green glaze, one giving the name of Thothmes III. (Pl. XXXVII.), blue glaze figure of Bez, a pair of bronze tweezers, a few blue glaze beads, pieces of a head-rest of wood, and fragments of wood and stucco coffins.

R 110*a*. Very small vault, less than a metre high. Remains of three bodies, with several tube pots, small dabs of mud, pieces of bone inlay, and blue glaze beads, discoid and cylindrical.

D 68 and 69. Turned into Coptic chapels. (See Ch. V.)

The most important of the later vaults are as follows :—

E 403. Shaft to west. Body supine, extended, head west,[1] in a large shaped coffin of red pottery with a lid much too large for it.

[1] The compass points are taken by river reckoning.

E 421. Vault, much destroyed, containing only scattered mummies. This had been built directly over the top of Vault 422, the contents of which were thus preserved quite intact.

E 422. Ground-plan perfectly preserved, but shaft, which lay to the north, destroyed (see fig. 7). Across the vault lay seven large limestone coffins, containing fully mummified bodies of adults, mostly in rich cartonnage (Pl. V., figs. 4 and 5). The three at the north end lay with head east, and the four at the south with head west. In the north-west corner was a small coffin containing a child's body, head north, and

Fig. 52. Inscription on cartonnage head-piece, E 422. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

in the south-east corner lay four small coffins containing children's bodies, head south. All the bodies were extended and supine. Nothing was found with them except in the coffin nearest to the south wall, where a mummified cat lay to the left of the head and a packet of food(?) wrapped in cloth on the right side. The best preserved mummy was that of the child in the north-west corner, which was extracted in its cartonnage and brought home to England (Pl. XXXVIII., fig. 14). In the other coffins the mummies were only moderately preserved. In some cases the cement with which the plain stone lids were fastened to the coffins had disintegrated, and in these cases the cartonnage was all ruined. All that was in a fit condition to be moved is shown on Pl. XXXVIII. On each mummy there were six pieces, placed on the head, breast, ribs, stomach, legs and feet. On the top of the head piece there was in all

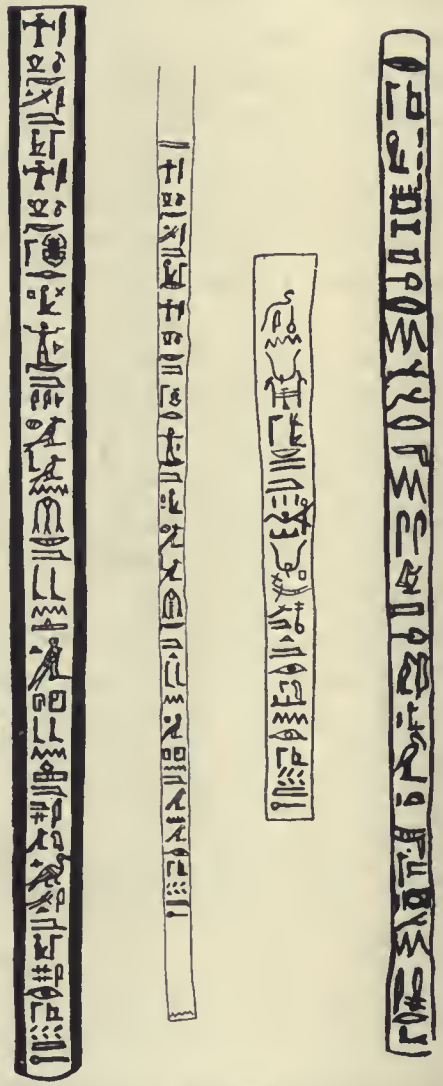


Fig. 53. Inscriptions from cartonnage leg-pieces, E 422. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

cases a figure of a winged scarab with the disc. The three finest sets have gilt faces, in another gilt is laid in small strips only on the forehead, eyes and nose, while in the rest the gilt is merely represented by yellow paint. In the inscriptions the places for the names of the deceased are left blank or filled with dots, showing that the cartonnage was bought ready made (figs. 52 and 53).

E 437. Much destroyed vault. Cartonnage head with inscription (fig. 54).

E 457. Small ruined vault. Limestone coffin, containing mummy in poor condition, head west, with cloth packet of food (?) at head.

E 460. Large vaulted tomb with shaft to north, containing seven coffins of limestone.

Fig. 54. Top of cartonnage head-piece, E 437. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

Mummies taken from coffins and plundered. The following objects were found: two model coffins of painted wood with pegs for hawks at the corners (fig. 55 and Pl. XXXVIII., fig. 5), a plain wooden label with string attached, parts of painted wooden hawks, a blue glaze vase (Pl.

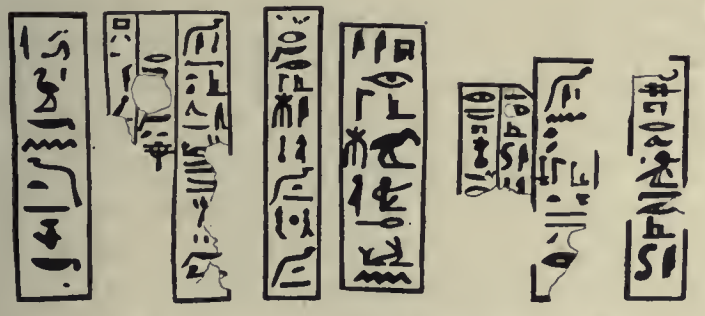


Fig. 55. Inscriptions on model coffin, E 460. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

XXXVIII., fig. 7), a scorpion of soft metal (silver), and the objects shown in Pl. XXXVIII., fig. 2, which are of very fine light and dark blue glaze. Also cylindrical and spherical beads of blue glaze.

D 66. Small vault, body not mummified, supine, extended, head south. In the vault a pair of bronze callipers, blue glaze beads, a rough vase of poor stone, and thirty small cylinders of poorly fired reddish clay, about 3 cm. long and 2 cm. in diameter. One of these was rectangular instead of circular in section; all were pierced down the axis with a hole 5 mm. in diameter.

S 61. Vault with irregular shaft to east. Mummies disturbed. On the first finger of the left hand of one was a silver ring, roughly gilt, with a flat rectangular bezel and signs of an inscription. Small limestone coffin, 38×24 cm., containing apparently mummified viscera. Vase with hieratic inscription (fig. 56), and re-used offering table re-inscribed in black paint (Pl. XXVI., fig. 4). The hieratic inscription, so far as decipherable, reads as follows (Gardiner):—"The first *snw-P* (?) of Osiris, divine chancellor (?)

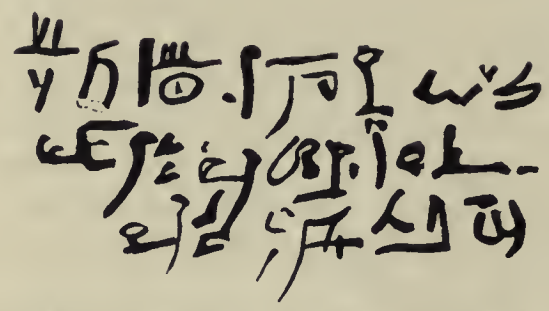


Fig. 56. Hieratic inscription on vase, S 61. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

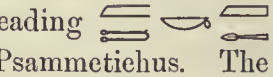
. . . born of Nes . . ." The stela is dealt with on p. 122.

S 201. Well-built vault with shaft to east. Two limestone coffins, broken, the lid of one inscribed with the usual *nỉswt dỉ ḥtp* inscription for a person whose name is lost. Pieces of model coffins of wood with hawks at corners, four green glaze amulets (Pl. XXXIX., fig. 7), small light blue glaze *shabtis* (Pl. XXXVIII., fig. 13), and two rectangular boxes of red pottery, one $31 \times 21 \times 9$ cm. and the other $27 \times 20 \times 12$ cm. with lids. In this vault were also found three Middle Kingdom stelae which had been used to break up the coffins.

S 499. Vault with deep shaft to south. In the shaft a defaced stela of limestone and a very light green glaze cat (Pl. XXXVIII., fig. 6).

S 620. Vault with shaft to east. Three layers of three bodies (not mummified) each, laid lengthwise along the vault with heads west. The two outer bodies of the central layer gave each a set of winged scarab and genii in poor green glaze (Pl. XXXVIII., fig. 10). Pieces of three human figures in painted wood, with rams horns and disc over head, inscribed in front with *nìśwt dì ḥtp* prayers to Osiris. Blue glaze beads, large cylindrical and large spherical. Small discoid beads of blue, red and white glaze.

S 621. Very large double tomb, consisting of two parallel vaults with parallel shafts to the west. The roof consisted of masonry two metres thick overlying the vaults, but there appeared to be no superstructure except a slight skirting to the roof. This absence of superstructure is confirmed by the fact that on the edge of the roof, just above the east end of each shaft, there was a small niche to mark the position of the shafts, and perhaps also to hold the stela. The vaults were completely plundered, and nothing was found but pieces of bitumenized mummies and fragments of pottery.

X 7. Tomb consisting of three parallel vaults with shafts to the south. The superstructure was practically destroyed, but had a circular form inside at its base. Only the central chamber could be excavated. In its south-west corner was a fine shaped coffin of cedar wood, with hieroglyphs, partly defaced, in yellow and black. From a fragment reading  it is clear that the name was Psammetichus. The body was fully mummified. The other coffins had been moved and destroyed. The objects found were poor light blue glaze *shabtis*, parts of a wooden figure and of wooden model coffins, including the hawks (Pl. XXXIX., figs. 1 and 2) and a model mummy covered with bitumen, part of a fringe of hair, two pieces of galena, large spherical beads of blue glaze, cylindrical beads of blue and yellow glaze, discoid beads of blue glaze, a cow's tooth, and a piece of wood with two bronze rivets. Period XXVth to XXVIth Dynasty.

Z 2. Vault with shaft to south. Remains of three female bodies, not fully mummified. The objects found are shown on Pl. XXXVIII., fig. 12.

Z 14. Vault, see p. 86 for structure. Masses of long cylindrical beads of blue glaze and small discoid beads of blue, red, and yellow glaze. In the south-east corner a wooden box 38 × 23 cm. of poor *shabtis* of yellow clay painted blue.

Z 18. Ruined vault, shaft to east. Contained large numbers of demotic ostraca (see below, p. 124).

R. 4. Vault, oriented east and west. Two mummies, heads to east. In the south-west corner of vault a painted wooden figure with a *nìśwt dì ḥtp* inscription to Osiris; name of deceased lost.

R 11. Vault with no shaft apparent. Male body, mummified, head south and hands crossed on breast. Fragments of vase over the stomach and a broken jug on the breast. A few beads and shells and three mummified cats. Fragments of another mummy.

R 20. Plundered vault. Roman (?) lamp, broken vase, bronze rivet, iron bracelet, piece of gilded stucco mask, some shells and some fragments of blue glaze.

R 80. Vault, 410 × 320 cm., shaft to west. Two bodies, head north, wrapped in cloth but not bitumenized. In south-east corner a heap of poor clay *shabtis* evidently contained in a wooden box. Over feet of the more westerly body a heap of smaller *shabtis*.

R 83. Shaft to north. Eleven mummies, five with head north, four south, and two east. One mummy was laid on a board roughly shaped into human form. Two inlaid eyes in copper frames, a bronze nail, a spindle-shaped stone object not pierced, a pierced cowrie, and long blue glaze cylindrical beads.

R 93. Small vault of a single thickness of

bricks covered with thick mud plaster (Pl. XXII., fig. 4). Between each brick of an arch and its neighbour was inserted a small flake of limestone, which assisted the bricks to fit more easily into the curved form of the vault. This use of limestone wedges is not uncommon.

R 109. Small barrel vault, oriented north and south, 231 × 109 cm. Small *shabtis* of fine blue glaze, with the curious niche in the back which seems to be characteristic of about the XXIst Dynasty;[1] a poor alabaster kohl-pot, pieces of a large shell, and numerous small dabs of mud.

Material found in the vaults.

The repeated plunderings to which the vaulted tombs have been subjected have played sad havoc with their contents. From the broken fragments of the objects found we can, however, reconstruct the appearance of a typical burial in these tombs of the XXVth Dynasty onward, though the evidence is not sufficient to enable us to discriminate much between period and period in this rather long stretch of time.

The body was generally mummified, or at least wrapped in cloth. In the latest tombs complete mummification with bitumen was the rule, and, though this is found as early as the XXVIth or even XXVth Dynasty, the earlier bodies are more frequently mummified without the use of bitumen. The coffin is most frequently of roughly trimmed limestone, rounded at the head, with sides converging a little towards the feet. Inside it is cut to fit the shape of head and shoulders. The lid is usually plain and very massive. In some cases the coffin is of wood, especially in the earlier tombs. In these cases it is shaped to the human form. In almost every tomb were found the remains of one or more model coffins of wood painted and inscribed. These contain each a small model of a mummy. Outside they are painted with funerary scenes. At the four corners were perched four hawks, and in some cases there are pegs in the centres of the two narrow ends on to which probably fitted larger hawk or jackal figures, such as are often found in the tombs with sockets in their bases. These model coffins seem to occur throughout the whole of the period from the XXVth to the XXXth Dynasty. Another common object of

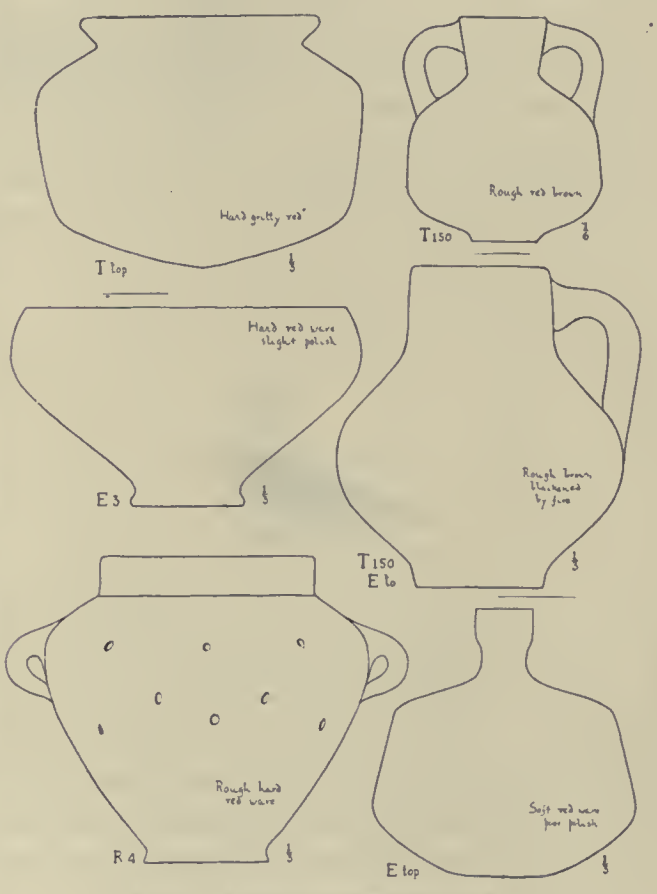


Fig. 57. Pottery of late vaulted tombs.

painted wood is the Osiris figure inscribed with a *nîśwt dî ḥtp* prayer for the deceased. In some cases, if not in all, this figure stood at one end of a long pedestal, faced at the other end by a figure of a hawk. *Shabti* figures were an indispensable part of the tomb outfit. They were very numerous, often between three and four hundred, and were generally placed together in a wooden box in one corner of the tomb. They were usually of a very poor make, in many

[1] See *El Amrah and Abydos*, p. 79.

cases being mere twists of sun-dried mud pinched into human semblance, and sometimes, but not always, roughly coloured. In the XXVIth Dynasty a great change takes place in their form, for they are set on a pedestal with a pillar running up and attached to the back. This form continues unaltered until the XXXth Dynasty, when the *shabti* apparently falls out of use. The great masses of pottery so often found in tombs of the XVIIIth and earlier dynasties are unusual in these later tombs. Fig. 57 shows the few pottery types which we found. The mummified body is often provided with a large number of amulets. The most common is the winged scarab flanked by the four genii which is laid on the breast, but there is no

Fig. 58. Limestone mould for figure of a bird. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

evidence to show exactly at what point in the period these came into use, or when they went out. Most of the tombs contained enormous numbers of blue glaze beads, both discoid and cylindrical. The majority of these were no doubt used in bead netting laid over the mummies.

Among the more unusual objects should be noticed the miniature limestone coffin of S 61, with its mummified viscera, and the two pottery boxes from S 201, which may have held similar remains, though they were found full of sand and beads.

In concluding this chapter we must mention a few objects which belong to the latest period of Egyptian history, and which were not found in tombs but among the surface sand.

Pl. XXXIX., fig. 3, is a fine bronze figure of the fish-goddess, Hat-mehyt. She is represented as a fish (*Mormyrus*, sp. *Oxyrhyncus* (?)), placed over a kind of sledge-like base with the end curved up.[1] She wears the horns, the disk, and the uraeus, behind which is a loop, which can only have served to suspend the figure.[2] This object was found in Region T in surface rubbish. The sand in which it lay contained large numbers of small fish-bones.

Fig. 58 and Pl. XXI., figs. 4, 8 and 11, are

Fig. 59. Painted vase of the Coptic period. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

limestone moulds for making figures of phœnixes and of mummies. The moulds are not uncommon, but we never found any of the figures made in such moulds. They were all found in surface sand in Region R.

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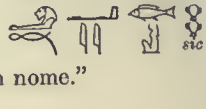
[1] For the identification I am indebted to Mr. W. L. S. Loat.

[2] In the Liverpool Museum there is a figure of Isis with the fish on her head. It is inscribed  , "Hat-mehyt in the Mendesian nome."

Figs. 59 and 60 and Pl. XXI., fig. 16, are examples of Coptic or late Roman pottery. They belong to a class which I hope to publish more fully in the near future, and which is in all probability connected in some way with some of the Meroitic wares.

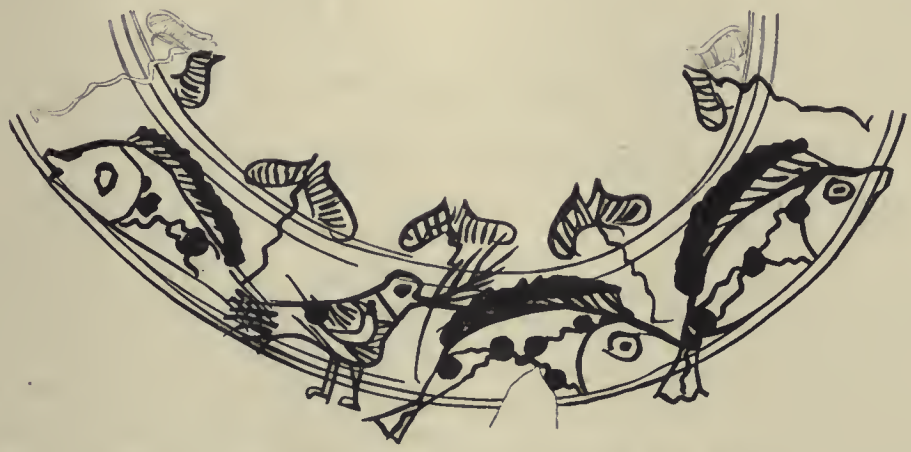


Fig. 60. Design (unrolled) from shoulder of Coptic vase. Scale ½.

ADDENDUM.

The two large limestone *shabtis*, Pl. XXXIX., figs. 8 and 9, were found quite near the surface in drift sand outside the back of the temenos wall of the Seti temple. Fig. 9 is of remarkable size, being 475 mm. in height. It bears the ordinary *shabti* inscription (cf. Chapter X., no. 6) in the name of Nefer-uben (possibly -ubenef). The smaller figure measures 237 mm. in height, and is inscribed in black ink with a very full *nîśwt dî ḥtp* prayer for a person whose name is lost. Both figures were badly damaged by salt, but they have been excellently restored at the Ashmolean, where they are now exhibited.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WELL AND THE DOG HYPOGEUM.

The Well.

The constructions actually or apparently connected with the well were first discovered in the season 1908–9. In the search for graves near the Fund house a cutting in the soft rock was discovered, nearly five metres wide and slowly descending in three long shallow irregular steps. The sides of this rude staircase had apparently been lined with mud brick in places where the rock was weak or crumbly, but otherwise it was quite plain. Pl. XVII., fig. 1, gives a view of it from the N.W. end. It led at the end of 30 metres into a huge rectangular excavation in the solid rock measuring about 31 metres by 28. A low retaining wall had been built on the top of each of the sides to hold back the wind-blown sand which overlies the rock here as everywhere else on the site.[1] Pl. XVI., fig. 5, shows the N.W. side, and Pl. XVII., fig. 2, the west corner. The cutting of the sides was quite rough, and the rectangular form had been preserved only down to a depth of about two metres. At this point there is seen a shelf in the rock, below which the cutting was continued over a more restricted area roughly circular in form (see plan on Pl. XVIII.). It was therefore without surprise that we found the long-awaited building in the centre of the great rectangle to be approximately circular in form. Its diameter was 6·80 m. The wall (Pl. XVII., fig. 4), carefully built of mud brick, descended for a depth of five metres, where it gave way to a circular wall of slightly smaller diameter built of quite unworked pieces of local limestone. This had been concealed by a facing of finely cut and perfectly bonded limestone blocks (see Pl. XVI., fig. 1), the upper courses of which had been removed. This we traced to a depth of some three metres. The dampness of the sand within the structure and the rope-marks on the walls had for some time past led us to suspect that what we had to deal with was nothing more nor less than a well, and the discovery of the stone facing seemed to confirm the conjecture. Despite the increasing evidences of our nearness to the water-level, we were still hoping for some data whereby to fix the period of the construction when a heavy fall of the rough stone surrounding made further work dangerous and even impossible.

The appearance of the whole in ancient times was as follows. The well itself lay in the centre of a large rectangular pit or court which was entered by the descending passage to the south-east. The entire cutting, both court and entrance, was probably surrounded by a low brick wall which stood about a metre back from the actual edge and served to hold out the sand. Around three sides of the rectangle and part of a fourth this wall is still preserved (see for example Pl. XVI., fig. 3), but it is to be noted that the portions of walling marked black in the plan (Pl. XVIII.) near the south end of the entrance passage are not raised on the rock, as are those round the court, but merely built up as facing to support weak spots in the rock itself.

[1] On the north-west side this wall was built in two portions, each 80 cm. high, the upper of which was set 35 cm. farther back than the lower, so as to form a step or ledge (see Pl. XVI., fig. 5).

Date of the well.

Various facts enable us to fix the date of the well and its surroundings within certain limits. In the first place the descending passage has entirely cut away the east wall of a shaft tomb (α) which, to judge from it contents, belonged to the XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty (see p. 103). In Pl. XVII., fig. 1, a ladder is seen protruding from the shaft. Similarly, the curious contour of the south corner (Pl. XVI., fig. 4, and Pl. XVII., fig. 5), which should be contrasted with the clean cutting of the north and west, is best accounted for by supposing that the shaft tomb β, which dates from the XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty, was already there when the great court was cut. Unfortunately, this corner of the site had been left uncovered by the Fund in 1908 and had suffered considerably, so that we were unable to discover whether the wall of the pit actually remained in position over the tomb or not.

In any case, however, the evidence of Shaft α is final, and we may safely conclude that the pit and well are not earlier than the XIX Dynasty. A *terminus ad quem* is given by the finding in the sand filling of the well, in the upper three metres, of pieces of Aretine pottery. These, it should be noticed, not having been found at the bottom do not necessarily belong to vessels in use at the time when the well itself was still open. Their occurrence in the filling proves that the well cannot have been completely filled up at the time when Aretine ware became known in Egypt. At the same time it is to be remembered that no Aretine ware occurred in the lower metres, and that therefore the filling up of the well may have begun before the period of Aretine ware, though perhaps not long before, since the rate of silting up in so windy a spot as this is usually rather rapid. It should not be forgotten, moreover, that the sherds found in the well may have been already old at the time when they were thrown there.[1]

Fortunately, however, we have further evidence of date in the fact, shortly to be noted, that a part of the dogs' catacombs which we can prove to be later than the well and its pit was probably in use in the first century B.C. We may therefore say with safety that the well and its cutting date from some period between the XIXth Dynasty and the Christian era.

The Catacombs of Dogs.

While exposing the west corner of the great rectangular pit we came upon two pieces of rough walling, which enclosed in the corner itself a space about two metres by one. This walling is clearly seen in Pl. XVII., fig. 2, which is a view of the corner from the centre of the pit, and Pl. XVI., fig. 2, taken from above, shows clearly the rough nature of these walls, which only descended to a depth of five courses. Within the corner, up against the south-west rock face, was seen a wall of brick, slightly broken at the top, and evidently concealing the entrance to a chamber or passage in the rock. The top of this wall is just visible in Pl. XVII., fig. 2. It was clear, from the outward lean of the enclosing walls (see Pl. XVI., fig. 2), that they were built merely to hold back the sand while access was gained to the rock passage; and as older constructions were seen to lie beneath them they were removed, after measurement and

[1] With the Aretine wares in the upper metres of the filling were found a few sherds of painted ware of a type frequently found lying about the surface in Abydos. This painted pottery, which is of several distinct types, probably comes in the main from the plundered cemetery at the back of the Seti temple, where it seems to have occurred in combination with local imitations of Aretine ware, which gives a clue to its date. As it has never, to my knowledge, been found in unplundered tombs, this pottery has not received the attention it deserves. In some of its types it bears an extraordinary resemblance to certain of the painted Meroitic wares, with which it has doubtless something in common, even beyond the presence of Greek influence. We have been for some time making a collection of it at Abydos, which I hope shortly to study and publish. Two good examples are shown in figs. 59 and 60 and Pl. XXI., fig. 16.

photography. At the same time the walling which blocked the entrance to the passage was also taken away. The effect of this clearance is well seen in Pl. XIX., figs. 1 and 4. In fig. 4 there is seen on the left a rough wall with a considerable outward lean, built, like those which lay over it, to keep back the sand and hold open the entrance to the passage. This wall runs in a north-easterly direction parallel to the north-west face of the great court, and at a distance of 190 cm. from it, for a distance of over two metres, thus forming a sort of corridor of entrance into the rock passage. This corridor is crossed at a point 90 cm. distant from the entrance to the rock by a rough brick wall built on sand, visible in Pl. XIX., fig. 4, and also in fig. 1 in front of the workman. From this wall steps cut in the rock, and in some cases fitted with bricks, descend into the rock passage. Within this, at a distance of 70 cm. from its mouth, is a wall of brick, built with mud mortar and plastered over with mud on the outside. This had served to close up the passage when not in use, but when we found it several courses of brick had been removed from the top (see Pl. XIX., fig. 1).

Beyond this wall lay the remarkable complex of underground chambers shown in Pl. XVIII. The plan is fairly simple, and consists of a central corridor with chambers opening off it on either side. But there is one curious feature, namely, that after running south-west for fourteen metres the corridor turns through a considerable angle and runs almost due south. This is a point of importance, to which we shall have to recur later. In this latter portion of the central corridor, and at the point where the second pair of opposite side chambers from the south leave it, is a huge conical heap of sand reaching to the roof. It is clear that the rock roof, which everywhere must have been rather thin, has given way and allowed the sand to run down into the hypogeum. About ten metres beyond this point we found the corridor blocked by a huge shoot of sand descending from the south, which made it evident that there was a second entrance at that end. We accordingly took the bearings of this point, and set a gang of men to work on the surface directly over it. Within a few hours they had laid bare the southern entrance to the galleries. It consisted of a long narrow rectangular pit in the ground, running north-west and south-east, and rounded at its north and west corners (Pl. XVII., fig. 3). It was lined down to the rock with mud brick, and into it was fitted a mud-brick staircase (Pl. XIX., fig. 2) descending from the south-east end to the north-west. On descending this, one found at the bottom on the right an opening in the rock which led immediately into the southern end of the central corridor. The view which presented itself to the gaze as one entered is shown in Pl. XVII., fig. 6. On the left is the rock wall of the corridor, in the foreground the sand floor, in the centre a confused mass of dogs' bones and decayed mummy wrapping, and behind that a heap of sand.

These underground chambers were cut fairly accurately in the solid rock, and were all between two and three metres in height. In the more northerly group of chambers the solid rock gives place at the bottom to a powdery grey sand, which I have not seen in any other part of the site of Abydos. This change in the nature of the rock naturally interfered with the accurate cutting of the chamber walls, and we find that in many cases bricks have been used to bolster up the walls at the bottom where the running away of this sand threatened to involve the collapse of the soft rock above it. The floors are, as a rule, not paved, but consist merely of the rock or the grey sand.[1] At intervals in the chambers and in the central corridor there are

[1] We did not expose them all. In the first chamber, on the right as one enters from the great court, there was some brick paving. The grey sand had been particularly troublesome in this chamber.

small niches for lamps at about 30 cm. from the roof. That these were used is clear from the blackening of the wall immediately above them.

All the chambers, and the greater part of the central corridor, were filled to within 150 cm. of the roof with masses of poorly mummified dogs, among which were a few birds.[1] In some chambers this mass consists of layers of dogs apparently from eight to ten deep, so that in the whole hypogeum there must be some tens of thousands. There is little or no bitumen used in the preparation of the mummies, and they are merely loosely wrapped in plain white cloth. The result is that those which are still intact as they lie fall to pieces at the slightest touch, and we experienced the greatest difficulty in extracting a score for examination. There is no regular orientation, but the dogs are always laid on the side, and in any particular chamber all the dogs are generally found to lie with the head in the same direction. It is evident that most of the chambers had never been disturbed from the day when the last dog had been laid in them, but there has certainly been disturbance at the south entrance, where lay the confused heap of bones and cloth shown in Pl. XVII., fig. 6. This heap looks very like the remains of a number of dog mummies broken up by plunderers in the hopes of finding objects on them.

Date of the Hypogeum.

For the date of the galleries there is good evidence, for inside the north entrance, at a distance of two metres from it, we found eight Roman lamps, the types of which are shown on Pl. XXXIX., figs. 10 and 11. These lay under a thin stratum of dogs' bones and over the clean sand which covered the floor. Near them were a bowl of red pottery and two smaller pottery vases (fig. 61). Mr. Walters, of the British Museum, has been good enough to date the lamps for us. The four outside types in the figures belong to about the first century B.C., and the two centres (frog type) are as late as the fourth century A.D. Naturally the thousands of dogs found here would not accumulate in a year or even a decade, and it is not at all improbable that the place remained in use over as long a period as the evidence of these lamps would tend to show.

It will be evident to anyone who will examine the plan that there are two different designs involved in it. At the point where the great bend occurs in the central corridor the whole complex may be divided into two halves which

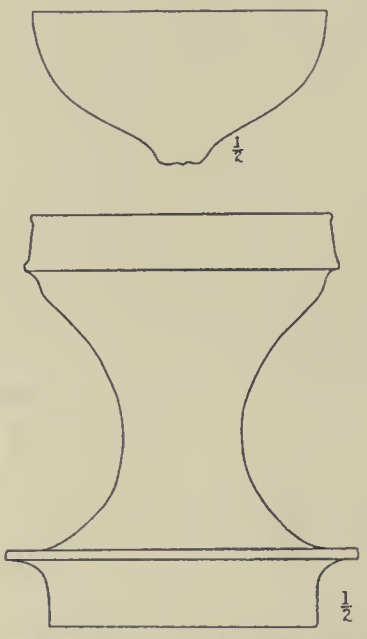


Fig. 61. Two vases found in the entrance to the hypogeum.

have entirely different orientations. These we may call for convenience the northern and the southern, the northern being the half nearest to the well enclosure and opening out of it. Now it is evident that the southern half is the earlier, for were the northern earlier there could be no possible reason assigned for the sudden change of plan at the great bend, there being even now no obstacle to prevent the continuation of the galleries in the direction in which the northern

[1] These birds were sent to the Cairo Museum, but have not yet been identified. One was certainly an ibis.

part of the corridor was running, viz. towards the south-west. If, on the other hand, we suppose the south portion of the hypogeum to be the older, we can see a very good reason for the change of direction. This reason is as follows. At the time when the change occurred the well and its rectangular pit were already in existence, as we shall see in a moment. The southern staircase entrance gave continual trouble by the rapidity with which it filled up with sand—a rapidity to which we can ourselves bear painful witness—and the corridor was assuming an inconvenient length. A simple remedy presented itself, namely, to cut through into the north end of the corridor from the west corner of the court of the well. This was done, and an entrance was thus gained which was far less liable to silt up than the narrow staircase, and which, being in an uncovered face of rock, was easy to construct because it did not involve the digging out of a pit and the making of a staircase.

We have still to produce our evidence that the north portion of the hypogeum is later than the court of the well. The careful arrangement of the new chambers round the corner in itself makes it probable that the court was already there when they were built. But we can fortunately attain to certainty on the point. Several sections taken in the western portion of the court of the well showed that under the surface sand, which contained potsherds and other remains, there was a stratum of fine grey sand which was perfectly clean. Beneath this again was another stratum of dirty sand containing various remains.[1] Now, this clean grey sand was clearly placed there by man, for there is dirty sand beneath and it is exactly similar to the grey sand into which the lower part of the chambers of the hypogeum penetrates. In fact, it is beyond doubt that this is the actual sand extracted in the making of the chambers. From this it is clear that the court of the well was already in existence when the north chamber complex was excavated.

Whether the south group of chambers was actually begun before the well was constructed or not we cannot tell.[2] We can only say that at a certain period this end was allowed to close up, and the entrance to the hypogeum was henceforth from the north. Besides the reasons already given for this change it is just possible that there was a third, namely, that the break in the roof referred to above had already taken place. This break let in such quantities of sand from above that it almost completely blocked the corridor, and it is only with great difficulty that one can now crawl round it. The damage was quite irreparable, as to move away any of the sand only admitted more from the five or six metres that lay above the broken roof. Thus this accident practically put a stop to the use of the hypogeum from the south end and made it necessary to open it up from the north. This suggestion is confirmed by the fact that the last chamber cut on the west side of the older corridor is exactly at the point where the sand has blocked the passage. The original plan had doubtless been to cut a series of chambers on the west of the corridor opposite to those already cut on the east. Two of these were indeed made, but the cutting of the second weakened the roof,[3] which gave way, and the descending sand blocked the passage. It was therefore useless to cut more chambers beyond this, for they could no longer be reached with any comfort from the south end, and so the projected series of chambers on the west was never completed.

[1] The stratum of clean sand varied in thickness from 30 cm. to a metre. The thickness of the stratum of dirty sand below was never determined owing to the exhaustion of the funds allotted to the work.

[2] The soft rock extracted from these chambers was deposited to the south and east of the staircase entrance, where it formed a low mound of considerable area, on which the Fund house now stands.

[3] It is obvious that the roof has least support, and is therefore most liable to give way, at points where pairs of opposite chambers enter the main corridor.

Various Constructions in the Court of the Well.

The court of the well contained several small constructions, which, though of little importance, must be mentioned for the sake of completeness.

In the south-west rock wall of the court, at a short distance north-west of the Shaft β, was a rough staircase in the rock leading down to the ledge marked "second level of rock" on the plan. At the foot of the staircase, and thus on the second level, was a small rectangular space 140×60 cm., paved with nine bricks, and forming as it were a bottom step to the staircase. This staircase is perhaps a later addition, to enable drawers of water to descend to the well from the south-west side without making the long detour to reach the proper descent on the south-east.

Another simple construction lay against the north-west rock-face at about five metres from the entrance to the hypogeum. It was somewhat damaged, but consisted originally of a small area, 185×190 cm., paved with mud, and bounded on the south-west by a single row of bricks, and on the north-east by a rough wall three courses high. The wall on the south-east, if there ever was one, has disappeared. In the corners and round the inner edges of this small enclosure were numbers of feathers, and it is evident that birds of some kind had at one time been kept there. The level of the pavement is only 140 cm. below the top of the rock wall, and the construction therefore dates from a time when the court was to a considerable extent filled up.

The third structure to be mentioned lay on the centre line of the court and its entrance passage, immediately to the south-east of the edge of the well. Its lowest bricks lay on uneven sand just above the level of the wall of the well, and the whole is therefore quite late. It had apparently consisted of two huts or shelters built side by side with old bricks of two different sizes. The hut more to the south-east measured 160×150 cm., and five courses of bricks still remained in parts. The other hut was practically destroyed.

Tombs in and near the Court of the Well.

During the work of clearing the court of the well six tombs were found. The first of these is the shaft tomb P α, which lies about half-way down the entrance passage on its south-west side. In Pl. XVII., fig. 1 the position of this tomb is marked by the top of the ladder which protrudes from its shaft, above which, immediately to the right of the two seated men, can be seen the brick wall of the shaft, the rest of its walling having been cut away, as already mentioned, by the making of the entrance passage. The chambers of the shaft lie at its south-east end. All three had caved in very badly, and were barely safe to work. The original arrangement seems to have been as follows. From the shaft a passage lined with two side-slabs of limestone and a lintel of the same stone leads into the first chamber, out of which open two others, one straight in front and the other to the right. Unfortunately this tomb had already been opened by the Fund on the last working day of the season 1908–9, and in the meantime, despite the precautions taken, it had been completely plundered. It had already suffered in antiquity, and, from what we were able to gather, the modern thieves found very little. The objects which still remained were as follows:—

Alabaster kohl-pot lid, with three holes pierced on a diameter.

Five rough *shabtis* of reddish clay painted in black, red and yellow. The inscriptions on them are poorly written (fig. 62), but the name is probably Amenhotp.

A minute scarab of blue glaze.

Rough vase of buff pottery of type Pl. XXXIV., last row but one, second vase from left.

Four bronzes, viz. a plain kohl-stick, another with chisel end, a needle, and a broken piece of a spatula (?).

Fragments of two head-rests and a cup, all of wood.

Blue glaze amulets of Bez, a goddess, sacred eyes, and an animal.

Three gold earrings.

Beads of various forms and materials: long ribbed barrel-shaped of gold, annular of red glaze, white discoid, biconical of grey stone, long cylindrical of blue glaze, and spherical of dark blue glass.

Nothing was found in position, the coffins

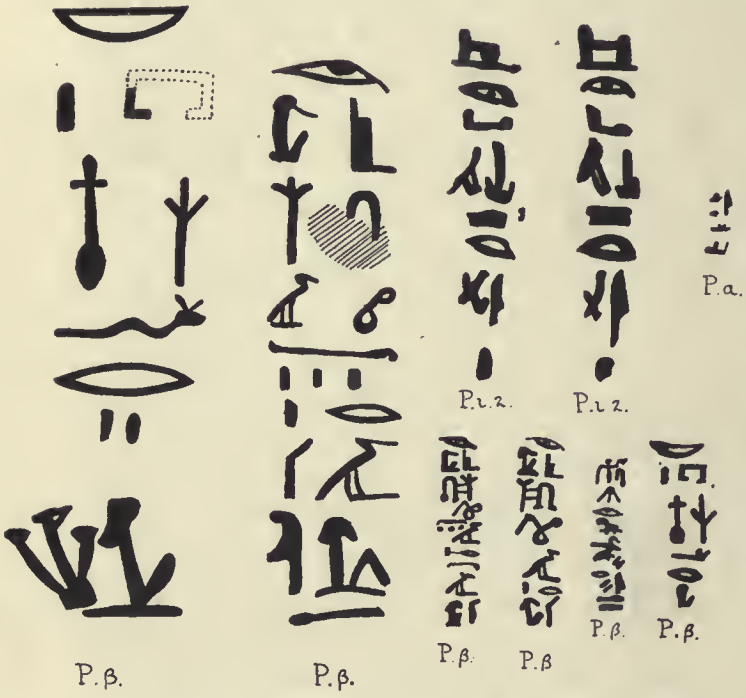


Fig. 62. Inscriptions on *shabti* jars and *shabtis* Pa and Pβ. Scale ½.

having completely disappeared and the bones lying about in confusion.

The next shaft presents a less dismal record. It lies in the south corner of the court, oriented north and south by river reckoning (true N.N.W.–S.S.E.), and thus slightly skew to the orientation of the court (see plan). Pl. XIX., fig. 3, taken from the north-east, Pl. XVII., fig. 5, from the north, and Pl. XVI., fig. 4, from the west, will give a good idea of the form and position of the shaft. The method of building was as follows. The surface sand was removed and a rectangular pit excavated in the soft rock of the depth which the shaft was intended to have but about two metres longer and broader. In the north-west and north-east sides of this pit a narrow rough staircase was cut to facilitate the descent of the workmen into the bottom of the pit. The two uppermost steps of this staircase are clearly visible in Pl. XIX., fig. 3. The chambers were next cut at the south-east end of the pit, and finally the brick shaft, 340 × 210 cm., was built up in the pit itself. Unfortunately the upper part of this shaft was rather damaged. It was covered with a curious stepped construction of brick, rising from north-west to south-east, clearly visible in Pl. XVI., fig. 4. It is just possible that the stepped appearance is accidental and that the building was originally a solid rectangular mastaba which in its ruin has assumed this curious form, though the impression given by careful examination at the time was that the stepping was original. It extended over the space between the south-west brick wall of the shaft and the edge of the rock pit, and perhaps also over the similar space on the south-east, though here it had been removed. Owing to this free space all round the bricking of the shaft there was a gap between the south-east end of the shaft and the entrance to the chambers, which had been cut in the rock at that end of the pit. At the bottom of this was built a small passage, lined and roofed with slabs of limestone, leading from the brick shaft into the chambers. When this was complete the free space around the bricking was filled up with sand. The ancient plunderers must have been aware of the manner in which this tomb was built, for they did not trouble to dig down into the shaft but merely emptied out the space between shaft wall and rock at the end where the chambers lay. On arriving at the limestone roof of the little passage, they broke it in two, and thus entered the chambers with a minimum of labour and without disturbing the building which covered the shaft. In

course of time the roofs of the chambers gave way, and continual falls have turned the place into a single vast cave, the mouth of which can be seen in Pl. XVII., fig. 5.

In the shaft itself, at two metres from the top, was found a burial, supine, extended, in a wooden coffin shaped to the form. A little lower appeared a cowrie and a small drop-shaped pendant of blue glaze. At the bottom of the shaft was an alabaster vase, shown in Pl. XXI., fig. 3.

In the space between the south-west wall of the shaft and that of the rock pit lay a male body in a wooden coffin in the same position as falls of rock from the roof had afterwards preserved it from further molestation. The objects found are as follows:—

A large amount of pottery, shown on Pl. XXXIV. and also on Pl. XX., figs. 1, 5 and 10 and Pl. XXI., figs. 5–7. Two of the vases are *shabti* jars in brown pottery painted in black, yellow, and white. They bear the names of Snefery and Uala respectively (fig. 62). The vase in female form (Pl. XXXIV., top row) is interesting and unusual. Of the various heads of men and animals shown on the same plate some fit vases actually found intact, while the vases to which others belonged are absent or

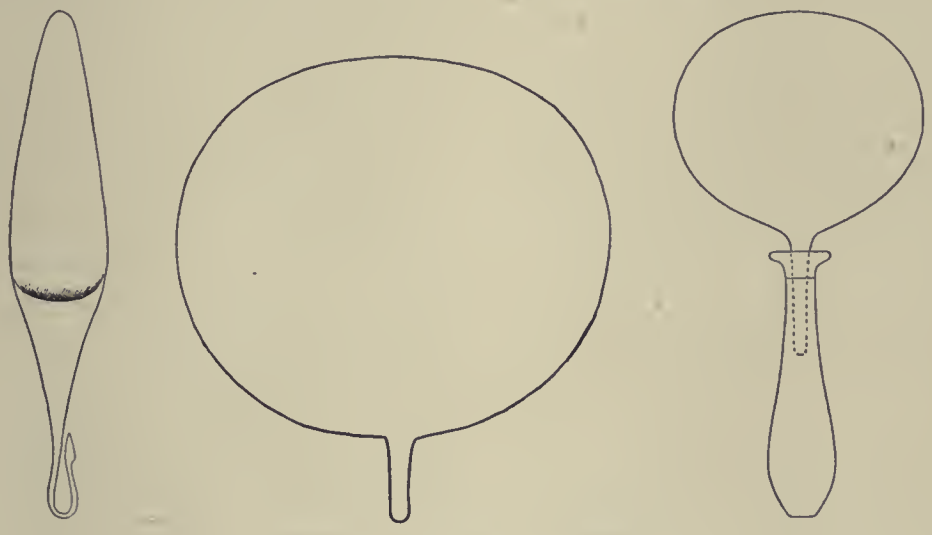


Fig. 63. Bronzes from P β. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

that within the shaft. In the similar space to the south-east was a skeleton crushed under falls of rock from the chamber roof.

The chambers themselves were three in number, lying one behind the other, but falls of rock had reduced them to a single shapeless cave about six metres long. The contents were in great confusion. In the first chamber a few fragments which remained in position showed that the bodies had lain north and south by river reckoning. No part of any body seemed to be in position. The whole deposit had apparently been thoroughly ransacked in Egyptian times and the more valuable articles removed. The shattered. Pl. XXI., fig. 7, is of the fine pinky yellow polished ware called Syrian, which belongs to the second half of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The two pilgrim bottles in Pl. XXI., fig. 5, point to the same period. The central vase on the bottom row of Pl. XXXIV. is unusual. It is of fine thin pottery and has thin bands of brown paint round the neck and body.[1] Of the small bowls of grey ware with a red rim there were several examples, and there were also others without the red rim.

[1] In form it is not unlike *Gizeh and Rifeh*, Pl. XXVII. L 407 (period of Amenhetep II. or Thothmes IV.).

There were several types of *shabtis*. Those on Pl. XXI., fig. 1, were of fine white and violet glaze inscribed with the name of Pay-iry (fig. 62). To the same man belong those on Pl. XXI., fig. 14, which are of light blue glaze with inscriptions in lighter blue. The two shown on Pl. XXXIX., fig. 6, are of rough pottery inscribed in black on a yellow ground with the name of Snefer or Snefery and of the scribe Uala (fig. 62). Pl. XX., fig. 7, and Pl. XXXIX., fig. 4, are remains of wooden *shabtis*, apparently uninscribed.

The bronzes (fig. 63 and Pl. XX., fig. 3) include three kohl-sticks, one with chisel end, a double-barbed arrow-head, a pair of tweezers, two rings, two handles (?) off a box, a knob for a stick or staff (Pl. XX., fig. 11, right), three mirrors, a dish (?) and a small washer.

Objects of wood included the remarkable semi-cylindrical box (Pl. XX., fig. 2) made of thin wood and divided transversely into three partitions, the figure of a seated animal (Pl. XX., fig. 8), the key (?) (Pl. XXI., fig. 15), fragments of several head-rests, a disc pierced in the centre, and the top portion of a large *ded* sign (Pl. XX., fig. 11).

A tripartite kohl-carrier in ivory (Pl. XXI., fig. 13). The front is carved into a figure of Bes. Behind this are seen the three kohl-tubes, with holes and pegs to fix their stoppers. The back is plain.

Other objects of ivory are pieces of a comb, a knife (?) and a mirror handle, studs from a head-rest, and two necklace threaders (Pl. XXI., fig. 9, top and bottom rows).

Pieces of bone pins.

Cylindrical horn cup, with lid of leather working on an ivory pivot.

Two eyes, with whites of alabaster and pupils of obsidian set in grey stone (Pl. XX., fig. 11).

Heart-shaped pendant of pink breccia (Pl. XX., fig. 11).

Two flint arrow-heads and a flint flake used on the edges (Pl. XX., fig. 6).

Thirty-six weights, made by doubling up small rectangular pieces of thin lead (cf. *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III., p. 31, Pl. xi., fig. 5).

Small cylindrical sticks of bitumen and solidified kohl.

Pieces of a leaden vase.

Gold foil.

A series of small blue glaze amulet figures (Pl. XXI., fig. 9).

Two, and part of a third, of a set of the four sons of Horus in carnelian, lapis lazuli, and jasper (?) (Pl. XX., fig. 6).

Blue glaze figure of Sekhmet (Pl. XX., fig. 6).

Discs of mother-of-pearl pierced in the centre (Pl. XXI., fig. 9).

Several large shells and fragments of others.

Short cylindrical beads of yellow, blue, and red glaze.

Glass beads.

Bull's head (?) amulet of green glaze (Pl. XXI., fig. 9, left end of second row).

Cylindrical beads of blue glaze with rounded ends, one of which is rather more swollen than the other (Pl. XXI., fig. 9, top row).

Small beads of carnelian and blue glaze.

The tomb probably received its first burials in the latter part of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and continued in use well into the XIXth.

Immediately outside the east corner of the great court lay a shallow tomb, probably of the late XIXth or XXth Dynasty. It consisted of a rectangular pit, 192×150 cm., with rounded edges. Joined on to this, at its south-east end, was a narrower pit, 110×90 cm. This had apparently been cut into by the shaft of a late dynastic vault which lay further to the south, and the point where they met had been closed by a brick wall. The main portion of the tomb was divided into two halves by a wall of brick and limestone fragments, one of which bore the cartouche of Rameses II., and is evidently from some building of his. Each half contained a shaped wooden coffin with the head south-east, while a similar coffin also lay in the narrower part of the tomb, but with the head north. In

the filling of the tomb were fragments of *shabtis* of a man whose name probably reads Ankh-en-Rē, and four lids of vases in the form of animal heads, one of pottery and the rest of mud. Outside the tomb were found some human leg-bones, two poor scarabs (Pl. XXXVII., P κ. A), and part of a ring of glass paste.

In the sand outside the west corner of the court three more burials of about the same period were found. The first lay quite near the surface, and consisted of a plain rectangular wooden coffin containing the body of a boy, extended, slightly on the left side, with the head south. Vertically under this was a similar but larger coffin containing the body of a woman, supine, head north, with two jasper hair-rings (?) at the ears and a fish-shaped scaraboid (Pl. XXXVII., P ι. 2) at the hands. The coffin was covered with a sort of gable roofing made by leaning two lines of mud brick up against one another. Outside the coffin, and immediately to the south of it, was a heap of rough pottery *shabtis* painted in black, white, and yellow, giving the name . The third tomb was parallel to this, at a distance of two metres from it. A shaped wooden coffin contained the body of a woman, supine, slightly on the left side, with the head north. Under the head was a rough blue glaze scarab of Rameses VIII. (Pl. XXXVII., P ι. 3), and to the north of the coffin, but outside it, six large rough *shabtis* of pottery.

These three graves are probably all of much the same date—that given by the Rameses scarab. None of the tombs here described has any necessary connection with the well and its court.

The Purpose of the Well.

It is hardly likely that a well constructed with such elaborate and laborious care, three hundred metres at least from the edge of cultivation, should have been used for drawing water for the ordinary needs of life, and we may safely conclude that this well was sacred, in the sense at least that it provided water for the use of the priests engaged in work in the cemeteries, and perhaps also for all religious ceremonies. But even then it is astonishing that around this well a vast court nearly a thousand square yards in area should have been cut out of the solid rock, when the well might with equal effect and less trouble have been sunk direct from the surface in the ordinary manner. There are further problems too. Are we to believe that the court was left, or rather was intended to be left, in the rough and rugged condition in which we see it on Pl. XVI., fig. 3? Must we not rather suppose that a cutting made on so vast a scale was intended to be lined with stone? And if this lining was ever finished is it not remarkable that not a single vestige of stone was found on the spot, if we except a small fragment of a column embedded in the corner of the rough brick wall built to hold back the sand outside the entrance to the hypogeum? The question of levels also presents some difficulties. Owing to lack of funds we were unable to clear the court down to virgin soil, but we did sink pits in the west half of it to a depth of more than two metres below the level of the top of the wall of the well as it now stands. These pits passed through the stratum of clean grey sand (see p. 102) and into a stratum of sand containing potsherds, bones &c., which was certainly not virgin soil. Thus the floor of the court was more than two metres below the top of the well, even supposing that the wall of the well stood little or no higher than it now does, and it is clear that some courses have been lost from the top from the rough appearance of the highest courses now in place. In other words, the wall of the well stood so high above the floor of the court that no one could possibly draw water. The supposition of a stone flooring would hardly answer this difficulty unless the slabs were very thick, and we must therefore imagine that steps, of which,

however, no trace could be found, led up to the well-top, or that the original wall was continually added to as the court filled up with drift sand, a process of which no trace is perceptible in the masonry.

The soft rock extracted from this immense cutting was apparently thrown to the south, where it formed a long low mound on which the Fund house now stands.

Strabo's Well.

It is impossible to refrain from mentioning the only literary reference to the existence of a well at Abydos. This is the well-known passage of Strabo. After speaking of the Memnonium, which is usually, and perhaps rightly, identified with the temple of Seti, he proceeds: *καὶ κρήνη ἐν βάθει κειμένη ὥστε καταβαίνειν εἰς αὐτὴν κατακαμφθεισῶν ψαλίδων διὰ μονολίθων ὑπερβαλλόντων τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ*. The words *ἐν βάθει* are by some taken in conjunction with the sentence which precedes, and the inference drawn that the well was beneath the Memnonium, and that the great barrel vault referred to is the Osireion.[1] But this is not necessarily the case. The words *ἐν βάθει κειμένη* mean simply "lying low down" or "in a hollow," while "under the Memnonium" would have been much more naturally expressed by *ὑπὸ ταυτῇ*. In other words, the sentence which describes the well is not in close connection with the preceding one, but the two simply record the two sights which struck Strabo most forcibly at Abydos. This is surely a perfectly fair interpretation of the Greek words and their arrangement.

Is it then possible that Strabo is referring in this passage to our well? It was certainly in existence at the time when he visited Egypt, and it certainly lies *ἐν βάθει*. Moreover, if the court and its entrance were lined with stone, and the entrance at least roofed, one might very well have descended to the well *κατακαμφθεισῶν ψαλίδων*. This, however, is mere conjecture, and is offered only as such. At the same time, anyone who has seen the well will agree that in Strabo's time it must have been one of the outstanding sights of Abydos.

[1] See Miss Murray's *Osireion*, p. 2.

The Dog as a Sacred Animal.

To discuss the problems raised by the discovery of so large a cemetery of dogs in Abydos is impossible in so short a space. It may be well, however, shortly to mention some of the points raised. It is sometimes said that the dog was not sacred in Egypt to any particular god, and yet we know that his remains were buried with all the care bestowed upon men and upon sacred animals. He was therefore in some sense sacred. Now a considerable portion of the Egyptian pantheon consists of animal gods and goddesses. It can hardly be doubted that these mark the decay of a primitive stage of totemism[2] in which whole tribes of animals were the totems of particular tribes of men. Originally there is no "god," but only a totem animal tribe. As the original meaning of totemism is lost this gradually develops into a god with an animal head, to whom all animals of the tribe are sacred. Thus in a religion which is a development of totemism, as the Egyptian certainly was in part, and which has passed through the stage of replacing the totem tribe by a single god with the head of the totem animal, the existence of a sacred animal which is sacred to no particular deity is an absurdity. And yet this is usually assumed to be the case with regard to the dog. That the dog was sacred we know not only from the finding of dog cemeteries, but also from the statements of Herodotus and Strabo. The former tells us that when a dog died in an Egyptian house the family shaved the whole of their

[2] Jevons, *Introduction to History of Religion*, pp. 121 ff.; Fraser, *Golden Bough*, p. 94.

bodies.[1] Strabo places the dog among the animals revered by all Egypt and not merely locally. He says that in Cynopolis, where Anubis was worshipped, sacred honours and food were given to dogs.[2] The dog was therefore sacred, but to whom?

From the presence of a great dog cemetery at Abydos we are at first inclined to connect the dog with one of the gods who were especially revered there. But this would be unjustifiable, for we know that there were in Egypt various repositories for mummified dogs besides that of Abydos,[3] and, moreover, we have on the other hand a cemetery of ibises at Abydos, a place where Thoth, the ibis god, was not particularly worshipped. The fact that the cemetery lies in Abydos thus proves nothing.

At the same time we know of three Egyptian gods who were in some way connected with animals of the dog, fox, wolf, or jackal tribe, and it so happens that all three were in special favour at Abydos. The first of these is Khenty-imentiu, or Head of the Westerners, i.e. of the dead. This god is not to be confused with Osiris, who originally was not a god of Abydos but of the Delta,[4] and who was only in later times identified with Khenty-imentiu. The latter is apparently a local god of Abydos, and he is mentioned in a fragmentary decree of Nefer-ka-rē Pepi as the owner of the temple at Abydos.[5] Here his name is followed by a Horus bird on a perch, which is nothing more than the determinative of a divine being. But on a fragment of a pottery jar found by Petrie on the old temple site, and dating from the Ist Dynasty, is an inscription which reads , Khenty-men,[6] which Meyer is almost certainly right in supposing to stand for Khenty-imentiu.[7] The name is followed by the determinative of a seated animal of the dog, jackal, wolf, or fox type on a perch. If Meyer's supposition is correct we may conclude that Khenty-imentiu, one of the earliest gods of Abydos, was represented by one of these animals. This god Khenty-imentiu is frequently mentioned in the Pyramid Texts,[8] and on grave stelae of the Middle Kingdom he is mentioned side by side with Anubis and Osiris, from both of whom he was therefore still distinct even as late as this period.

The name of Anubis is determined by what is apparently the same seated animal. Anubis, however, played no part in the early history of the temple at Abydos, for his name does not occur on the temple site until the New Kingdom.[9]

The third god who is identified with an animal of this type is Upuawet, Lord of Abydos, who is clearly a local god, and whose name is determined by a standing animal of apparently the same kind as that used for Anubis and Khenty-imentiu. Upuawet is probably the first owner of the temple of Abydos, but what his relation is to Khenty-imentiu, from whom the determinative seems clearly to distinguish him, is uncertain. From Anubis he is carefully separated in all the early texts.

We have, therefore, if Meyer's conjecture is correct, three separate gods who at an early period were all determined by the figure of an animal which might be a dog, a fox, a wolf, or a jackal. Whatever confusions may have arisen later, these three gods were quite distinct in early times, and it is therefore practically certain that the animal is different in each case. Which animal is to be assigned to each god is uncertain.

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[1] II. 66. [2] 812. 40.

[3] E.g. at Suâres near Maghagha.

[4] In early texts, even at Abydos, he is always "Lord of Busiris."

[5] Petrie, *Abydos*, II., Pl. xix.

[6] *Op. cit.*, Pl. xii.

[7] *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 41, pp. 97 ff.

[8] E.g. 133*b*.

[9] The seated dog does occur in inscriptions from the early Royal Tombs (cf. *Royal Tombs*, I., xxix. 86; xxxi. 48; xxxii. 17; II., vi. A. 4 and 24; xii. 5; *Abydos*, I., iv. 8), but there is nothing to show whether it stands for Anubis or for Khenty-imentiu.

Anubis is usually called the jackal god, and it has been suggested that his connection with burial is due to the fact that the jackal is a haunter of spots where anything is buried. This evidence is insufficient. On the other hand, Strabo's statement that Anubis was worshipped in Cynopolis would tend to connect that god with the dog, though confusion may have taken place before such late times. It is wisest to leave the question unanswered in the hopes that the future may bring us more evidence.[1] In the meantime it is improbable, in view of the sacredness of the dog in Egypt, that it should not have been connected with one at least of these gods.

[1] Meyer concludes that Anubis and Khenty-imentiu were dog gods, and Upuawet a wolf god. He points out that the Greeks knew of only two animals of this tribe as sacred, viz. the dog and the wolf.

CHAPTER X.

THE INSCRIPTIONS.[1]

1. Fig. 64 and Pl. XXVI., fig. 5. Late stela, probably of the Graeco-Roman period. Scenes in red and black paint. Inscription in black. Found over Tomb R 1, 1910.

"Prayer to Osiris, the great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give a great and goodly burial to the honoured one, the Osiris Wennefer, son (?) of Sabna, born of the mistress of the house Kaus (?) daughter of Anupa (?)."

2. Fig. 65 and Pl. XXIII., fig. 3. Limestone stela of Senbi, dating from the Middle Kingdom or slightly later. Found face downward in

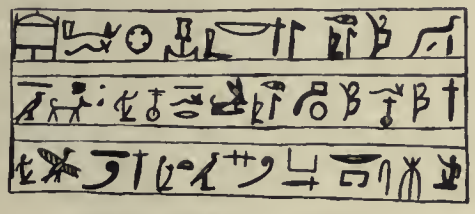

Fig. 64. Stela No. 1. Scale ¼.

wind-blown sand in the north cemetery, not far from the Shuneh. It is badly damaged by salt and decipherment is not always easy. The text given is based on a collation of my own copy, taken on the day of finding, with a copy made by Professor Newberry a few days later. Several signs clear at the times when these copies were made are now either lost or obscured on the stela itself.

Uppermost register: two columns in front of figure of Ptah:—

"An offering which the king gives to Ptah, south of his wall, lord of Ankh-taui, that he may give offerings of bread and beer and a pleasant breeze of life to the *ka* of the chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, the confidential

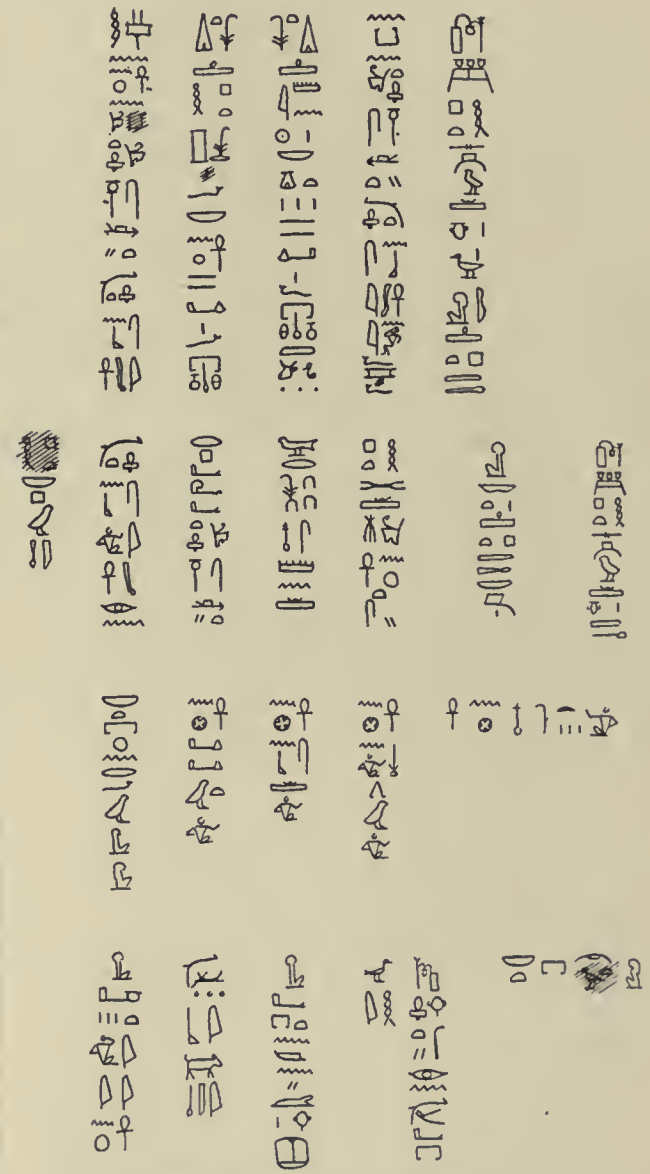

Fig. 65. Stela No. 2 (not in facsimile).

friend, the overseer of the seal, Senbi, repeating life."

[1] I have again to thank Dr. A. H. Gardiner for improvements and corrections in my translations.

Uppermost register: three columns in front of figure of Amūn :—

"An offering which the king gives to Amen Rē, lord of Karnak, that he may give offerings of bread, beer, flesh and fowl to the *ka* of the chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, the confidential friend, the overseer of the seal, Senbi, repeating life. It is his child, his beloved, the scribe of the offering-table, Ptah-sau-ib, son of the keeper of the bow, Hotp, justified [who makes his name to live]."

Second register: three columns in front of seated figure :—

"The hereditary count and prince, chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, confidential friend, overseer of the seal, Senbi, repeating life, son of Ptahnebpu, justified."

Second register: inscriptions accompanying the three standing figures :—

"Great one of the southern tens, Nefer-smen-Ptah-andj, born of Ankhtesy."

"The keeper of the bow, Hotp, justified, lord of honour."

"The scribe of the offering-table, Ptah-sau-ib, justified."

Third register, from left to right :—

"Mistress of the house, Khenrefu."

"The citizen Diditu."

"The citizen Sonb."

"The citizen Sen-iu."

"The citizen Nefer-renput."

Fourth register, left to right :—

"Keeper of gifts, Iy-ankh."

"Overseer of ships, Ibi, justified."

"The man of the department of ebony (?), Sebk-her-heb."

"The scribe, chief of the seal, Ty, son of the overseer of the magazine, Nehi."

"Mistress of the house, Sit-iah."

3. Fig. 66 and Pl. XXIV., fig. 3. Fragment of a fine stela of limestone of the Middle Kingdom or slightly later. Found in the filling of Tomb B 21. Figures of two women described as follows :—

"His daughter, the mistress of the house, Minemhat, justified."

"His daughter, Smat-hor-nebt-int, born of Rens-res, justified."

4. Pl. XXV., fig. 2. Upper part of a small limestone stela from Tomb R 2. In the top right-hand corner of the stela, now broken away, stood presumably the formula for the principal

Fig. 66. Stela No. 3. Scale ¼.

figure Mer . . . . The rest of the inscription reads :—

"An offering which the king gives to Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos; offerings of bread, beer, flesh and fowl to the *ka* of his mother, Nakht, justified, his son Tenu, justified, and his daughter, Nakht, justified."

"His brother Senm . . . ."

"His wife Meryet, justified."

5. Pl. XXVI., fig. 3. Fragment of a small limestone stela.

"[An offering which the king] gives to Osiris, lord of Abydos, that he may give [offerings of bread and beer . . .] to the *ka* of Nehy . . .

It is his sister who [makes his name to live . . .]."

6. The *shabtis* of Rensonb (B 13) of the XIIth or XIIIth Dynasty (Pl. XIII., fig. 3) are of good limestone, with details painted in blue and

Fig. 67. Inscription No. 6 (not in facsimile).

black. The inscription (fig. 67) is incised lightly, and the hieroglyphs are filled with blue paint. The legs of birds and men are omitted for magical reasons, a procedure not unusual in tomb inscriptions of this period.

"The follower who followed, Rensonb, says: O ye *shabtis*, if Rensonb is called upon for the work which is being done in the other world, as a man to his task, to cultivate the fields, to water the banks, to carry over sand to the east and to the west, then shalt thou say, 'Here am I.'"

7. Pl. XXVI., fig. 2. Badly defaced stela of limestone found in drift sand in Region R.

"Nebt-kepeny, Beki, Nebsy, Sebk-nakht."

Under the chair is the name Pasasa (?).

8. Fig. 68 and Pl. XXVI., fig. 6. Limestone stela with rounded top, found in surface sand in Region R. Painted in black, red and yellow. Late inscription in black letters on yellow in the twelve vertical spaces above the main scene, barely decipherable.

"An offering which the king gives to Rē, the great god, lord of heaven, that he may give all manner of offerings and all manner of food for the *ka* of the Osiris Pedu(bastet ?), justified, son of Pensheryenist, justified before the great god, lord of the underworld, and the great god, lord of . . . . . ."

9. Fig. 69 and Pl. XXIII., fig. 4. Stela in the form of an offering-table, found in drift sand in the cemetery of the Intermediate Period, to which period it clearly belongs. Limestone, slightly damaged by salt. The signs are firmly but carelessly cut.

Main inscription, right half:—

"An offering which the king gives to Anubis who is in Ut, lord of the Sacred Land, and to the cycle of gods worshipped in Abydos, that they may grant glory in heaven and might to [the *ka*] of the regulator of the guilds, Si-Anhūr, justified."

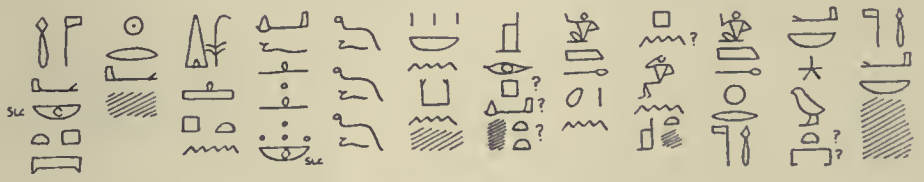

Fig. 68. Stela No. 8 (not in facsimile).

Main register, left half:—

"An offering which the king gives to Geb, prince of the gods who are in the western horizon, that they may give offerings of bread,

beer, flesh, fowl, cloth and thread, and every good and pure thing for the *ka* of the regulator of the guilds, Uaz-ka-Rē, justified."

Within the upper register :—

"Honoured before Rē in heaven, overseer of the lake (?), Mentuhotp, justified."

"Honoured before Tefnut in Heliopolis, the *uab*-priest, Sebk-hotp, justified."

Lower register :—

"His beloved wife, the mistress of the house, Senbtesi, and her son, Amenhotp."

"An offering which the king gives to Hathor,

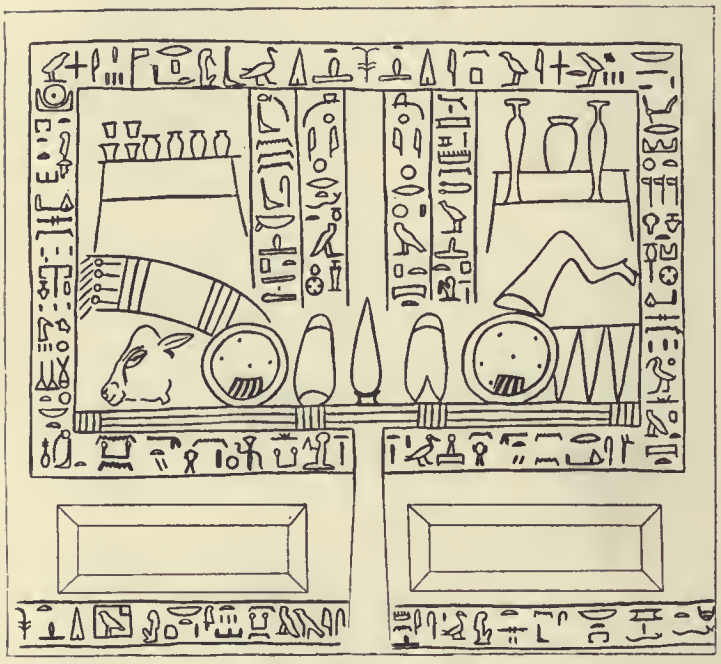

Fig. 69. Offering stela No. 9. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

mistress of the western . . . . . (*tp ỉmnty?*) for the *ka* of Mais."

10. Fig. 70 and Pl. XV., figs. 4 and 5. Large statue in black stone of Ty with his wife and son. Found in the south chamber of the plundered Tomb X 57.

"An offering which the king gives to Osiris Ptah Seker, lord of Ankh-taui, that he may give offerings of bread, beer, flesh and fowl to the *ka* of the judge, 'Mouth of Nekhen,' Ty, justified, lord of honour."

"His wife, the mistress of the house, Itonkh."

"His son the great *wʿrtw*[1]-official of the city, Ift (?)."

11. Fig. 71 and Pl. XXI., fig. 10. Fragment of a limestone stela of Ty, found in drift sand near the top of the tomb (X 57) which yielded his statue.

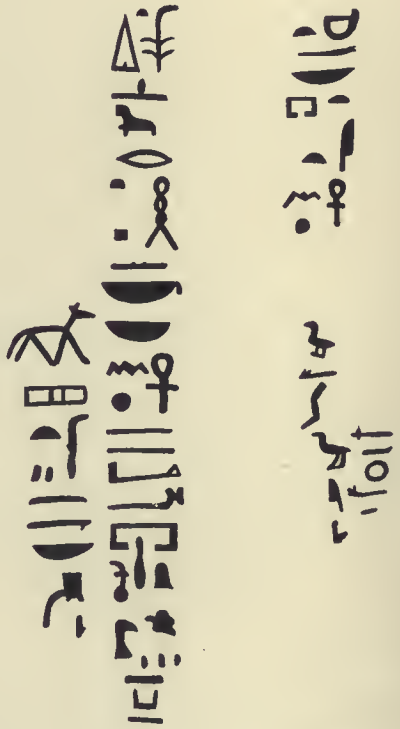

Fig. 70. Inscription No. 10. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

"An offering which the king gives to Osiris, lord of Abydos, that he may grant offerings . . . . . the judge Ty, justified."

"His wife, the royal favourite, Itonkh, justified."

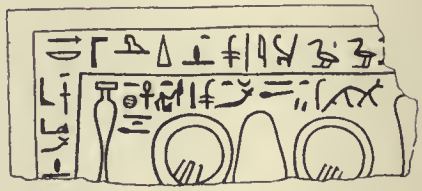

Fig. 71. Inscription No. 11. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

"It is the son of his daughter [who makes his name to live . . . .]."

[1] For the *wʿrtw*-officials, cf. below, inscription no. 13 ; also Cairo stelae, M.K. 20019, 20054, 20104, and *Rec. Trav.*, xxvii., pp. 41 ff.

12. Fig. 72 and Pl. XV., figs. 1–3. Base of a seated figure in black stone, found in the filling of X 58, whence came also the stela No. 13. The chamber was empty.

Fig. 72. Inscription No. 12. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

Front face, beside the right leg :—

"An offering which the king gives to Upuawet, lord of the Sacred Land, for the *ka* of . . . ."

Right side :—

"The hereditary prince and count, over the secrets of heaven and earth, guardian of silver and of gold, ... of all precious stones, chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, the great steward, Neb-onkh, son of the steward Sebk-hotp."

Back :—

"[An offering which the king gives to] Ptah, Osiris and Rē, [that they may give] offerings of bread and beer, flesh and fowl, cloth and thread, incense and ointment, offerings and food, and all good things, for the *ka* of the chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, the great steward, Neb-onkh, born of the mistress of the house, Hapi, justified.

Left side :—

"The hereditary count and prince, who is spoken to in private, friend in the palace . . . . . , the great steward, Neb-onkh, justified."

13. Fig. 73 and Pl. XXIV., figs. 2 and 4. Two pieces of a limestone stela found in the shaft of Tomb X 58. Incisions filled with yellow paint.

Upper register :—

"An offering which the king gives to Osiris, the great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give offerings of bread, beer, flesh and fowl to the *ka* of the overseer of the singers of Khu-Anhūr, Amen-iaf-ib, repeating life."

Second register :—

"Overseer of the estate (?), Sankhi, justified."

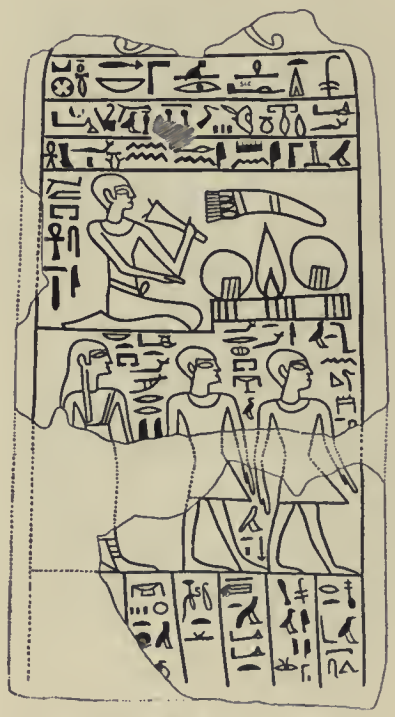

Fig. 73. Stela No. 13. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Third register :—

"His mother, the mistress of the house, Merery . . . ."

"His father, 'Mouth of Nekhen,' Nebu-em-sen."

"The *w'rtw* of the ruler's table . . . ."

Fourth register :—

"Nefert-ubenes."

"The royal favourite, Iuy-res."

Fig. 74. Stela No. 14. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

"Didit-neshmet."

"Tiuazt."

"Nub-em-tekh."

The divine name Khu-Anhūr is remarkable, but the reading is quite clear.

Fig. 75. Stela No. 15. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

14. Fig. 74 and Pl. XXVI., fig. 1. Small limestone stela, consisting of a flattish stone smoothed and inscribed on one face.

". . . of Osiris . . . . . Isis of the house of Heqt, mistress of heaven."

15. Fig. 75. Fragment of a badly defaced stela found in drift sand in the north cemetery. The reading is difficult and uncertain in places.

"[An offering which the king gives to Osiris, lord of the] Westerners, the great god of Abydos, that he may give [offerings of bread, beer, . . .] and every good and pure thing which heaven gives, ... on which the god lives, for the *ka* of the regulator of the guilds, Bebt-ihem (?). [An offering which the king gives to Ptah,] lord of Ankh-taui, that he may give all kinds of offerings and food for the *ka* of . . . ."

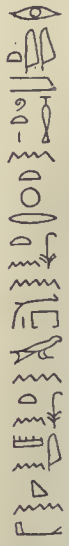

Fig. 76. Inscription No. 16 (not in facsimile).

16. Fig. 76 and Pl. XXXIX., fig. 5. A small wooden figure found in drift sand at Umm el Qa'âb, slightly east of the tomb of Zer.

"Made by the favour of the king for the great steward of the king Qen-Amūn."

17. Fig. 77. Fragment of a limestone figure found in drift sand in Region D. XXIst Dynasty or later. The inscription runs :—

" . . . Osiris, head of the . . . , Isis, mistress of heaven and mistress of all the gods . . . .

Fig. 77. Inscription No. 17. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

for the *ka* of the Osiris, the doctor Pedi . . . . amūn, justified, whose mother was the mistress of the house . . . . ."

18. Fig. 78 and Pl. XXV., fig. 7. Round-

topped stela of limestone, found in the late dynastic vault S 201, into which it had been thrown with others. It is badly defaced, probably owing to its having been used to break open the limestone sarcophagi in S 201. Figure of the deceased man adoring Min, behind whom a smaller figure is just perceptible. Middle Kingdom.

"An offering which the king gives to Min-hor-nakht, that he may give offerings of bread

Fig. 78. Stela No. 18. Scale ¼.

and beer, flesh and fowl, cloth and thread, every good and pure thing on which the god lives, for the *ka* of the great scribe of the vizier . . . . . -ankhu."

19. Fig. 79 and Pl. XXV., fig. 5. Upper half of small limestone stela, found in surface sand at D. The inscription runs as follows:—

"An offering which the king gives to Osiris, that he may give offerings of bread and beer, flesh and fowl, cloth and thread, for the *ka* of the Great One of the Southern Tens, Si-Dhout, justified. His father, the judge, 'Mouth(?) of Nekhen,' Khonsu, justified."

Fig. 79. Stela No. 19. Scale ¼.

20. Fig. 80 and Pl. XXIII., fig. 5. Fine round-topped stela of limestone, found in surface sand near Tomb C 81. The harper Teni-o is seen playing before his master. (Now in the Cairo Museum.)

Fig. 80. Stela No. 20. Scale ¼.

"The musician Teni-o says: 'How firm (read *mn wi tw*?) art thou in thy place of eternity, in thy tomb of everlasting, it being filled with offerings and food, and comprising(?) every good thing, thy *ka* being with thee and not parting

from thee. The chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, the great steward, Neb-onkh. May there be for thee a sweet wind of the north.'

"It is his musician who makes his name to live, the honoured one, the musician Teni-o, whom he loved to sing[1] to his *ka* every day."

A statue base of a man bearing the same name and titles was found in 1910–11 in a tomb not far from the spot where the stela lay (see above, no. 12). A piece of another stela of a man of the same name and with the same titles was found in 1912–13 in drift sand a little further off. On this, as on the statue base, the name of the deceased's mother is given as Hapi.[2]

On the right, a text from the Book of the Dead, Chapter XXVI. :—

"Thy heart (*ib*) is to thee in (?) the house of hearts (*ibw*). Thy heart (*ḥ3tì*) is to thee in (?) the house of hearts (*ḥ3tìw*). Thy heart (*ib*) is to thee; thy heart (*ḥ3tì*) is to thee . . . . . ."

On the left :—

"Lift up thy face . . . . . ."

Fig. 81. Offering stela No. 21. Scale ¼.

21. Fig. 81 and Pl. XXV., fig. 1. Damaged offering-table of limestone, found out of position in Cemetery S.

22. Fig. 82 and Pl. XXVI., fig. 7. Base of a squatting figure in fine limestone, found in the surface sand in Cemetery D. The lacunae in the inscription are due to the flaking off of the surface of the stone.

The translation runs :—

"An offering which the king gives to Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, the great (?) . . . . . divine offerings to the cycle of the gods . . . . . , that he may give offerings of bread and beer, flesh and fowl, all good and pure things on which the god lives,

[1] We expect *ḥ3f*. The omission of the "returning pronoun" is curious.

[2] See *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III., p. 37, no. 6.

the mouth in health . . . . . reach . . . . in peace, for the *ka* of the greatly praised one of his god . . . ., overseer of the double granary of Upper and Lower Egypt, Si-Eset, justified."

23. Pl. XXIII., fig. 1, and Pl. XXXV. Large rectangular limestone stela with cornice. Evidently from a Middle Kingdom mastaba. Found among rubbish in a late dynastic vaulted tomb S 201.

In the upper half two figures, one male and one female, seated on opposite sides of an offering-table.

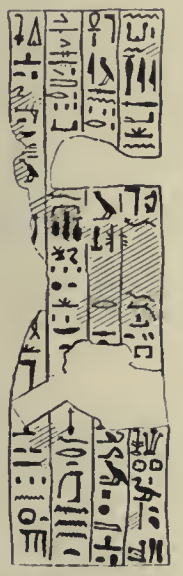

Fig. 82. Inscription No. 22. Scale ¼.

Over the man, in four horizontal lines :—

"An offering which the king gives to Osiris, head of the Westerners, the great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give offerings of bread and beer, flesh and fowl, cloth and thread, all good and pure things on which the god lives, that he may give incense and ointment to the *ka* of the honoured one, the chancellor . . . . . ., Henenu, justified, son of Hapi."

Over the woman, in three vertical lines :—

"An offering which the king gives to Osiris, lord of Abydos, that he may give bread and beer, flesh and fowl, every good and pure thing on which the god lives, to the *ka* of his mother Hapi, justified, daughter of Sen-onkh."

In the lower half a male figure adoring before a pile of offerings. Before him a small male figure, and behind him a small female.

To the right of the scene, in three vertical lines :—

"The giving of praise to Osiris, kissing the earth to Upuawet in his festivals of eternity, worship to Anubis on his hill. O ye that live on earth, do ye say (read *ḏdtn*) a *nìśwt-dì-ḥtp* prayer for the *ka* of the honoured one, the chancellor, ... Henenu, justified."

A fourth vertical line, crowded in on the right and turning off to the left at the bottom, adds :—

"And for the *ka* of Sen-onkh, daughter of Hapi, justified ; and for the *ka* of her brother, her beloved (*mryś*?) Keki, and for the *ka* of his his son Henenu, and his son (?) Hapy."

In front of the large figure :—

"His brother, his beloved Si-Anhūr, son of Sen-onkh, justified."

Behind the large figure and over the small female figure :—

"To the *ka* of Sennu-tef-hapy, daughter of Sen-onkh."

In front of the small male figure :—

"Henenu (?), son of Diditsekhemty (?)."

Crowded into the space at the bottom of the stela is an inscription of four horizontal lines, very roughly cut and badly defaced.

"An offering which the king gives to Osiris, head of the Westerners, the great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give offerings of bread and beer, flesh and fowl, cloth and thread, and every good thing on which the god lives, for the *ka* of the honoured one (?), Hapu, son of Didisekhemty, possessing honour. For the *ka* of his sister . . . . . Also for the *ka* of his brother Amen-hotp. Also for the *ka* of Didiusebk, also for the *ka* of Iau-nefer (?) . . . . . ., justified, possessing

honour. Also for the *ka* of Kay and his sister (?) . . . . . Ikeki (?) son of Hapy . . . . . Senonkh, child of Hapy. Also for the *ka* of . . . . . child of I . . . i. Also for the *ka* of Semy (?) . . . . . ."

Crowded in on the left are two short vertical lines which are almost indecipherable.

24. Fig. 83 and Pl. XXIV., fig. 5. A thick rough stela of limestone found among the rubbish of S 201.

Upper register. Two female figures before an offering-table at which a man is seated.

Fig. 83. Stela No. 24. Scale ¼.

Above the man: "The . . . Pepi, son of Sit-Hathor-Teti-urt."

Above the first woman: "Anket, daughter of Idh."

Above the second: "Idh, daughter of Sitebk."

Between the two: "Betetenheb, daughter of Idhet (?)."

Second register. Similar scene.

Over the man: "Imeni, son of Hat-pi-ta."

Over the woman: "Ity, daughter of Ik."

Over the man behind her: "Bes" (or Ibes).

Third register. Five persons entitled:—

(1) The steward Ptah-ur.

(2) The *heri-heruw*[1] Hemau.

(3) His wife Rens-sonb.

(4) His son Seri.

(5) His son Senb-henaf.

Beneath are three lines of inscription:—

"Hek-shen-user, Inpu-wen, son of Shefyt-en-[Inpw]; Si-sopdu; Senusret . . . . . ; . . . sonb; An[k]y[t](?), daughter of Ity."

Fig. 84. Stela No. 25. Scale ¼.

25. Fig. 84. Rough limestone stela found built face inwards into the east side of a small solid mastaba, E 416, in Cemetery E.

Inscription and figures roughly cut, painted red, and edged with black. Date about VIth Dynasty.

". . . . his eldest [son], the confidential friend, Her-ib."

"Thousands of bread, beer, *sꜣ*-geese, *śr*-geese, and every good thing for Her-ib."

[1] For the title cf. Weill, *Recueil des Inscriptions du Sinai*, no. 69.

"Thousands of bread, beer, *śś*-geese, *śr*-geese, and every good thing for K . . . . ."

26. Fig. 85 and Pl. XXIV., fig. 1. Offering-table of limestone, with rough edges, smoothed only on the upper face. In the centre is a scene carefully cut in relief showing, on the right, the deceased and his wife on a throne, in the centre a pile of offerings, and on the left the slaying of a bull.

Over the relief on the left are the words "Taking the choice joint for the *ka* of Sebk-o." Behind the female figure is written "His wife, his beloved, Ita."

The main inscriptions, somewhat oddly arranged, read :—

"An offering which the king gives to Anubis

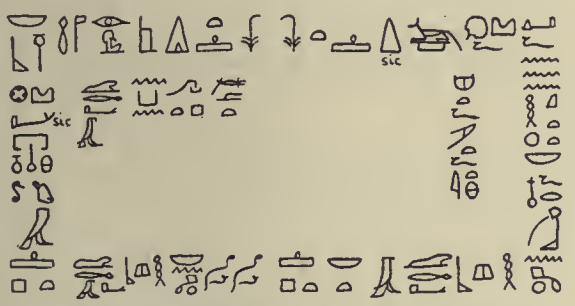

Fig. 85. Offering stela No. 26 (not in facsimile).

on his hill, that he may give water, beer, every good and pure thing and all manner of offerings for the honoured one, the reciter priest, Sebk-o."

"An offering which the king gives to Osiris, the great god, Lord of Abydos, that he may give offerings of bread and beer, flesh and fowl, in peace, and meals of every kind to the honoured one, the reciter priest, Sebk-o."

27. Fig. 86 and Pl. XXIII., fig. 2. Very large and heavy stela of limestone, found almost on the surface at S. The four figures, now badly damaged, are cut in a separate block of softer stone let into the face of the stela.

The inscriptions read :—

"An offering which the king gives to Upuawet, the great god, Lord of Abydos, that be may give offerings of bread and beer, flesh and fowl, and every good and pure thing to the *ka* of the overseer of the kitchen (?), Hek-ib, possessor of honour."

"Honoured one before Osiris, lord of Busiris, great god, lord of Abydos. May he give a pleasant life to the *ka* of the overseer of the kitchen, Hek-ib, lord of honour."

Under the four figures, from left to right :—

"The honoured one, overseer of the storehouse, Hek-ib, possessor of honour."

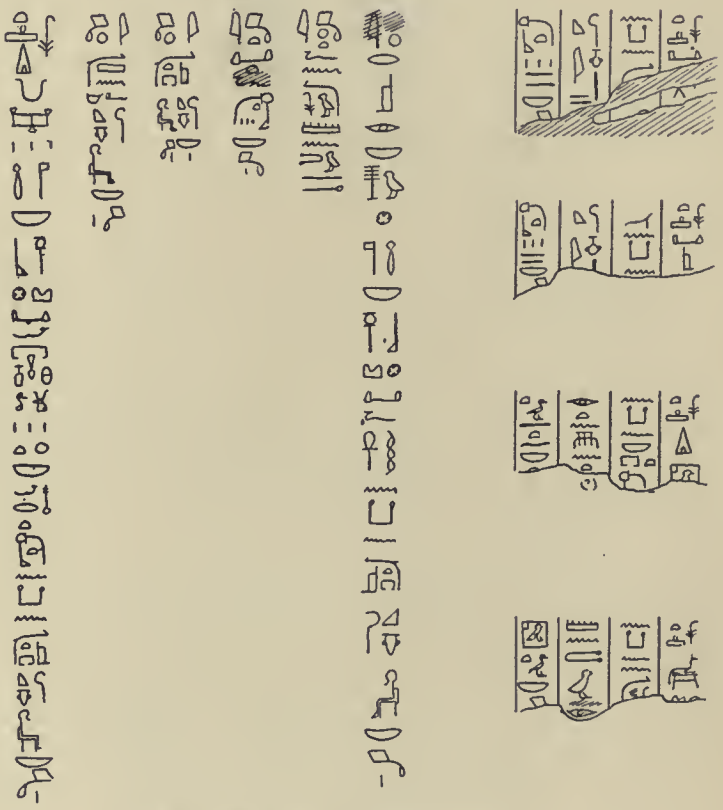

Fig. 86. Stela No. 27 (not in facsimile).

"The honoured one, overseer of the kitchen (?), Hek-ib, possessor of honour."

"The honoured one, his mother, Uabut, possessing honour."

"The honoured one, his father, Nesu-mentu."

On the horizontal surface of stone on which the figures stand are four minute and badly damaged inscriptions, which run as follows, reading from left to right.

"An offering which the king gives . . . . for

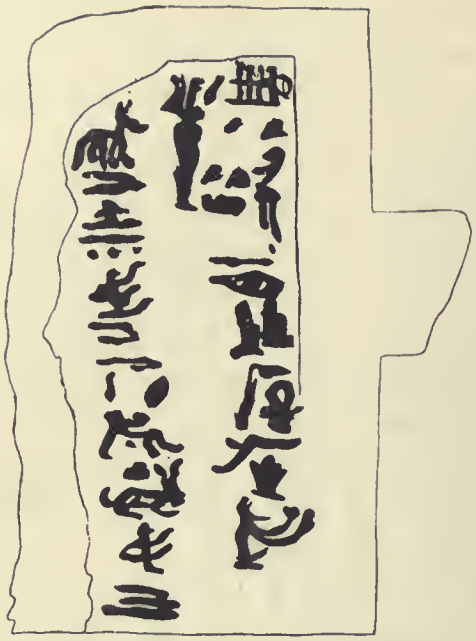

Fig. 87. Offering stela No. 28. Scale ¼.

the *ka* of the overseer . . . . Hek-ib, justified, son (?) of Uabut, justified, possessing honour."

"An offering which the king gives to Osiris . . . . for the *ka* of . . . Hek-ib, son (?) of Uabut, justified, possessing honour."

"An offering which the king gives to Hathor . . . . for the *ka* of . . . the mistress of the house, Uabut, daughter of Sit-khenti-kheti (?), justified, possessing honour."

"An offering which the king gives to Anubis on his hill . . . for the *ka* of Nesu-mentu, son of Sit-hathor, possessing honour."

28. Fig. 87 and Pl. XXVI., fig. 4. Offering-table, probably of the Middle Kingdom, re-inscribed in ink at a later date. S 61.

" . . . . . west to the Osiris, divine sealer, overseer of Upuawet-em-hetep, justified, son of Sheri-wen (?), justified."

29. The inscriptions shown in facsimile in figs. 88 and 89 and on Pl. XXXVI. are of peculiar

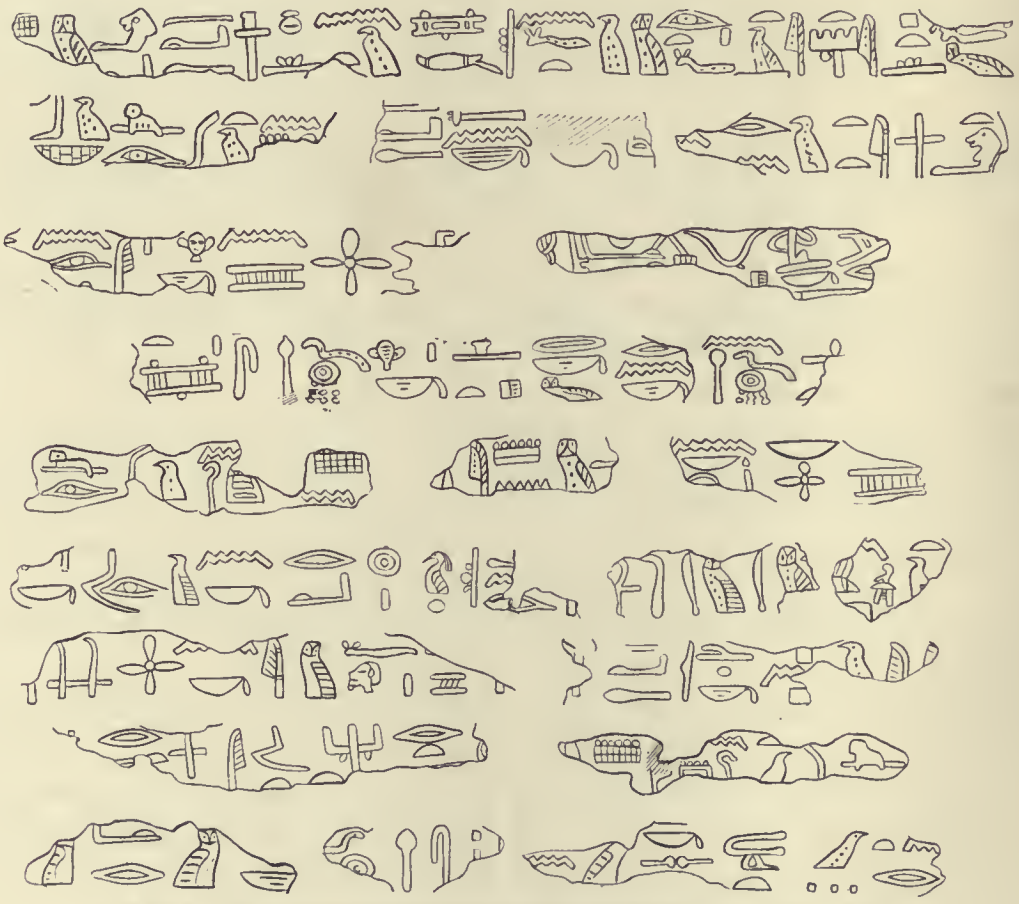

Fig. 88. Fragments of horizontal inscriptions on sarcophagus, Z 2*a*. Scale ¼.

interest from several points of view. They come from the sides of two sarcophagi, one found in 1909–10 in Tomb Z 2*a*, and the other in 1910–11 in Tomb X 3. Both tombs lie in the north cemetery and are separated by a distance of over a hundred yards. The two sarcophagi are clearly both from the same workshop. The hieroglyphs are arranged partly horizontally along the tops of the sides of the coffins, partly in vertical columns below. The signs are in light blue edged with black, and the

Fig. 89. Fragments of vertical inscriptions on sarcophagus, Z 2*a*. Scale ¼.

ground is dirty white. The legs of the birds and the tails of the snakes are cut off. The example from X 3 is the better preserved and the more interesting in that on it a change of name has been made. The title and name of the deceased occur eight times in the extant portions of the texts, and they originally stood in the form shown in outline in the plate. Subsequently, however, these were roughly erased, so imperfectly as to leave portions still visible, and the name and title shown in full black in the plate were written in the empty space in plain black ink. The photograph Pl. XIII., fig. 4 shows very clearly the result of this careless alteration: in none of the eight cases does the new name appear free from admixture with the old, owing mainly to the fact that it was shorter, and that rather than have an empty space the maker preferred to leave fragments of the earlier name to fill up. We must suppose that the coffin was originally made for . . . iri, and for some reason or other not used for him, but hastily altered to suit Sebkhotp. The majority of the texts are very fragmentary. This particular selection was apparently in great favour during the Intermediate Period, as small fragments of it recur in many tombs in this cemetery. The two horizontal texts are much better preserved than the rest and may be translated as follows :—

Lower half of Plate XXXVI. "Recitation: O Osiris N., Horus has preserved thee, he makes thee to rejoice (variant, 'has filled thee') with this his eye Tait. He has assigned (to thee?) out of all manner of things. O Osiris N., there are offered to thee thy bandages and what Renutet gave to thee, she who is in front."

Upper half of plate. "Recitation: O Osiris N., Horus has preserved thee. He has given . . . . of the gods, which thou desirest . . . He protects thee. O Osiris N., justified. How good it is to see thee, how satisfying is the revealing of thy face by the right eye of Rē . . ."

APPENDIX.

DEMOTIC OSTRACA.

By Sir Herbert Thompson.

A small collection of ostraka, about eighteen in number after re-uniting fragments which were found to fit together, were found in Tomb Z 18 (see above, p. 94). They all bear demotic inscriptions. From the writing I should date them in the Ptolemaic age, but I cannot restrict the date further. They are very roughly written, and two of them bear dates, one of year 3 Paope 22, the other of year 6 Athyr 12, but the king is not named.

All the inscriptions are copies or variants of a short religious text, of which the fullest surviving form is given in no. 1, below. It is a prayer to Thoth that the supplicant's name may be remembered. A striking point about them is that they are all addressed to Thoth at Abydos. He is invoked here especially under the title of *p wr ty*, the "Great of Five." This title, the meaning of which has not been explained, was borne by the priest of Thoth in Hermopolis (Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, pp. 281, 303), but was also given to the god himself (Griffith, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, p. 30, note); and I think there is no doubt that in these ostraca it is to be taken in the latter sense, and not as a title of the individual whose name follows. The formula itself is found elsewhere, e.g. in Northampton, *Report on Excavations in the Theban Necropolis* (1908), p. 19 *seq.*

In spite of their having been found in a tomb, I do not think that the inscriptions are necessarily funerary. They may just as well be prayers for the living as for the dead.

I append transliteration and translation of the two ostraca reproduced on Pl. XXV., figs. 4 and 6.

No. 1:—

rn-f mn ty mbḥ Ṯḥwt
p wr ty n ntr-w Pa-rt s P-wr-ty
p wr wr Ṯḥwt te-y ʾr ne-k sm ty
mbḥ Ṯḥwt p wr ty n ntr-w Ṯḥwt-Mᶜ
Ṯḥwt-ʾw sẖ ḥsp 3 ʾbt-2 ʾḫ ss 22

"May his name abide here before Thoth the Great-of-five of the gods Paret son of Portis.[1] O twice great Thoth! I praise thee here before Thoth the Great-of-five of the gods Thot-me (son of) Thoteus. Written year 3 Paope 22."

No. 2:—

rn-f mn . . . .
. . . . . nm rm nb nt mte-f . . .
rn-f mn ty mbḥ Ṯḥwt p wr ty . . . .
Ḥr-m-ʾḫ (?) s Ṯwt nm rm nb nt mte-f tr-w šᶜ z.t
rn-f mn ty mbḥ Ṯḥwt p wr ty n n ntr-w P-te-Mnt s . . .
nm rm nb nt mte-f tr-w šᶜ z.t
rn-f mn ty mbḥ Ṯḥwt p wr ty n n ntr-w
. . . . . yt-f nm rm nb nt mte-f tr-w šᶜ z.t

"May his name abide . . . . . together with every man who belongs to him . . .

[1] The title "Great of five" was adopted as a proper name for individuals, and Portis is its Greek form. Its Egyptian form is found as ΠΟΥΡΤΙΥ (Spiegelberg, *Eigennamen*, no. 222).

"May his name abide here before Thoth the Great-of-five . . . Harmachis (?) son of Totoes, together with every man who belongs to him, for ever.

"May his name abide here before Thoth the Great-of-five of the gods Petemonthes son of . . . ., together with every man who belongs to him, for ever.

"May his name abide here before Thoth the Great-of-five of the gods [X. son of Harend]otes (?), together with every man who belongs to him, for ever."

LIST OF MUSEUMS WITH THE VARIOUS TOMB-GROUPS AND SINGLE OBJECTS ASSIGNED TO THEM.

Egyptian Museum, Cairo:

Stela No. 20.
Bronze fish (Pl. XXXIX., fig. 3).
B 13. Alabaster vase with serrate rim.
S 548. Ivory lion.
Set of mummified dogs.

British Museum:

T 22.
B 13. Black incised vase and *shabti* of Rensonb.
Stelae Nos. 2, 25 and 26.
S 548. Ivory lion.
Model of predynastic kiln.
E 422. Cartonnage head.

Ashmolean Museum:

S 548. Ivory lion.
O 4. Pan pots.
O 1. Copper knife.
S 44.
C 52.
Predynastic sealing (fig. 3).
E 460.

Manchester Museum:

Ist Dynasty objects, S 544, 548 and 605.
W 11. Copper tweezers.
O 4. Pan pot.
G 6.
K 8.
R 59.

National Museum, Dublin:

S 39, D 18, S 131, E 4345 and 4391, S 602 and 608. Two clay figures from W top (Pl. XIV., figs. 2 and 3).

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge:

T 52, S 201, S 340 and E 4034.

Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh:

S 12, S 36 (north chamber), T 91, D 75, and objects from predynastic settlement.

Bristol Museum:

Stela No. 18, S 548, 602 and 628 (Ist Dynasty).
S 139 and 151, and objects from predynastic settlement.

Glasgow Museum:

S 484, 545 and 608.

Chadwick Museum, Bolton:

D 66, S 253, 254 and 267.
Objects from predynastic settlement.

Maclean Museum, Greenock:

R 109. Alabaster.

Leicester Museum:

Z 2. Amulets.
S 627.

Musées Royaux, Brussels:

Seated figure of Si-Eset (No. 22).
C 6 (lower south chamber).
B 12. Set of scarabs.
Stela No. 23.
E 481 and S 340 (second north chamber).

Dominion Museum, Wellington, New Zealand:

C 76, D 35 and 38, S 285, E 4261 and 4343, W 11, R 113.

Australian Museum, Sydney:

C 54 (second north chamber), S 340, E 405 and 4181, R 101, E 702.

Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh:

Statue of Ty (No. 10).
E 422. Mummy of child.
Stela No. 1.
S 49, B 13, K 2, T 71.
Statue base No. 12.

Art Institute of Chicago:

X 52, and wooden statuette of Qen-amûn (No. 16).

Boston Museum of Fine Arts:

Predynastic bowl with crocodile (Pl. IV., fig. 1).

University of Pennsylvania:

Predynastic anthropomorphic vase, U.
Tripartite kohl vase in form of Bez, Pβ.

Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.:

Stela of Sebk-o (No. 26). Groups D 9 and S 29.
Wooden box, Pβ.
Stela No. 13.
Alabasters, Pβ.

Brooklyn Institute of Fine Arts:

E 422, complete set of cartonnage.

Masonic Library, Cedar Rapids, Iowa:

Z 2, W 17, W 6.

Jefferson Institute, Louisville, Kentucky:

Z 2 and X 7.

Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.:

S 499, E 703.

Cincinnati Museum Association, Ohio:

Ist Dynasty objects from S 544, 548, 602, 605, 601.
R 108.

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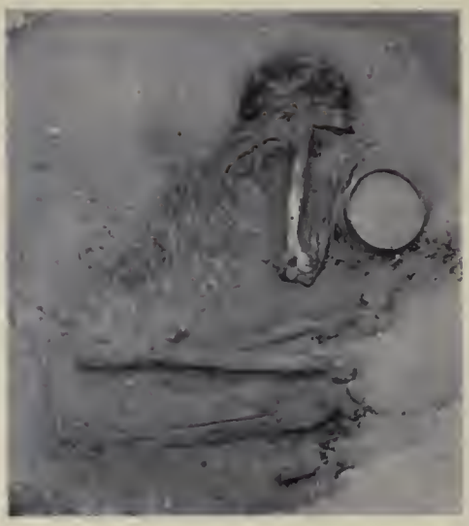

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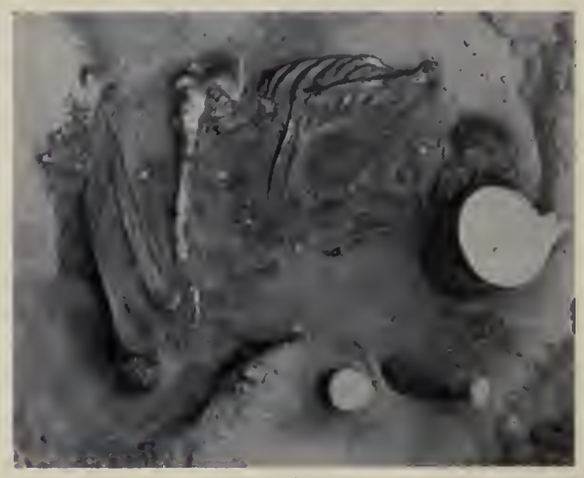

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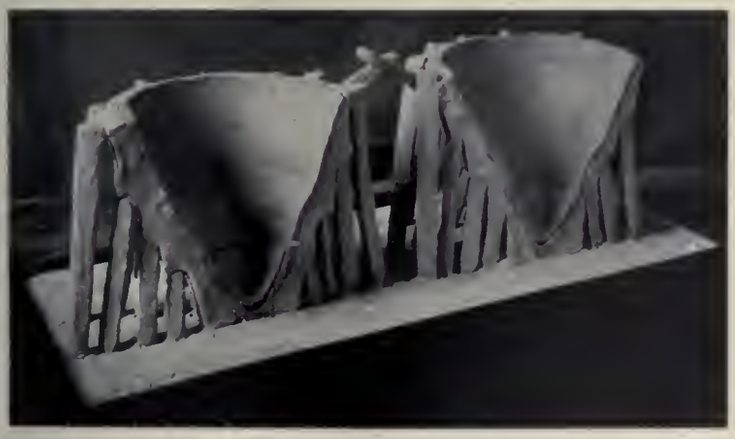

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1. TOMB U. 7. POTTERY COFFIN.
2. TOMB U. 28.
3. TOMB U. 30.
4. TOMB E. 4348.
5. TOMB U. 20.
6. BOWL FROM KILN. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{10}$.
7. DECORATED VASE FROM SURFACE SAND IN E. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
8. MODEL OF SECTION OF KILN.
9. WAVY HANDLED VASES. CEMETERY E. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
10. PREDYNASTIC VASES. TYPES L 30 c, L 36 c, and L 31 d. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.

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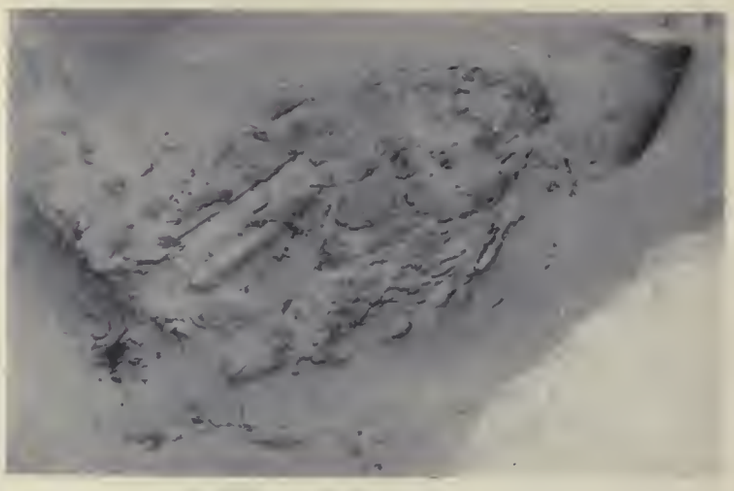

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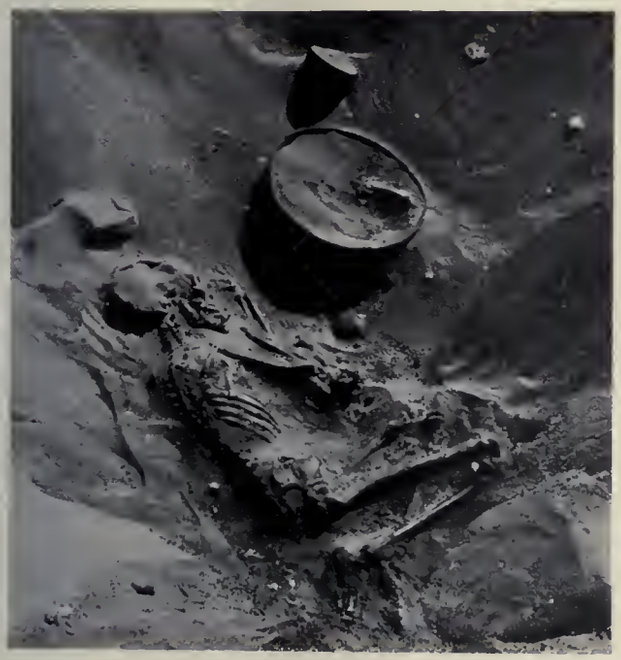

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1. TOMB U. 14.
2. TOMB U. 9, SHOWING REMAINS OF REED MAT.
3. TOMB U. 19.
4. TOMB U. 31. IVORY BRACELETS ON FOREARM.
5. TOMB U. 1. DISMEMBERED BURIAL (?).
6. TOMB U. 26.

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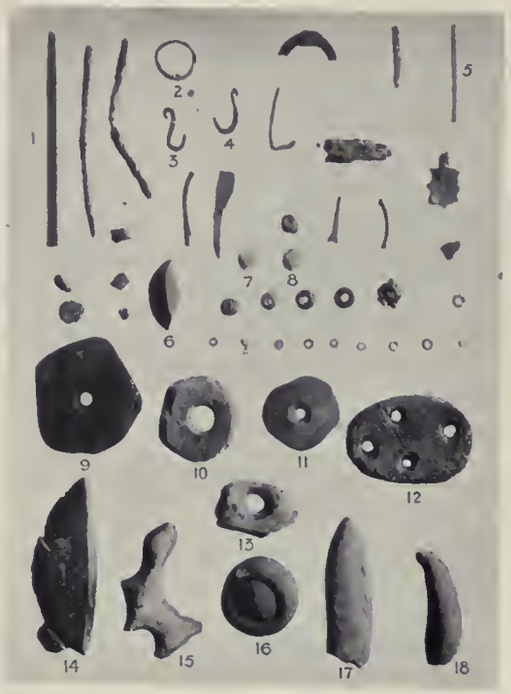

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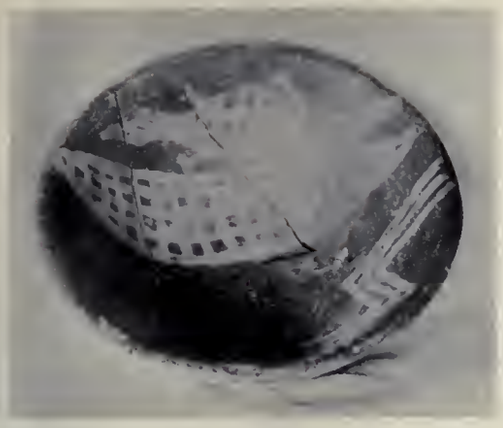

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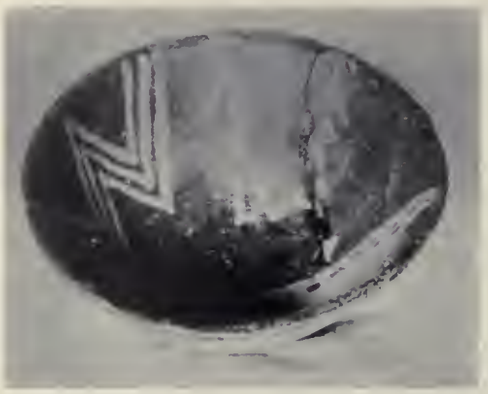

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1 and 2. BOWL WITH DESIGN IN WHITE ON, RED. *Sc.* ⅔.
3. U. 13. BLACK TOPPED VASE WITH DESIGN IN WHITE. *Sc. about* ½.
4 and 5. RED POLISHED VASE WITH DESIGN IN WHITE. U. TOP. *Sc.* ½.
6. HUMAN FIGURE IN CLAY. U. 21 TOP. *Sc.* ⅓.
7. MUD ANIMALS. U. 11. *Sc.* ⅔.
8. ROUGH AND SMOOTH VASES CONTRASTED. CEMETERY E.
9. U. 26. PALETTE AND 'HORNS.' *Sc. about* ⅓.
10. VASE IN HUMAN FORM. *Sc. about* ½.
11. GRINDSTONES FROM SETTLEMENT.

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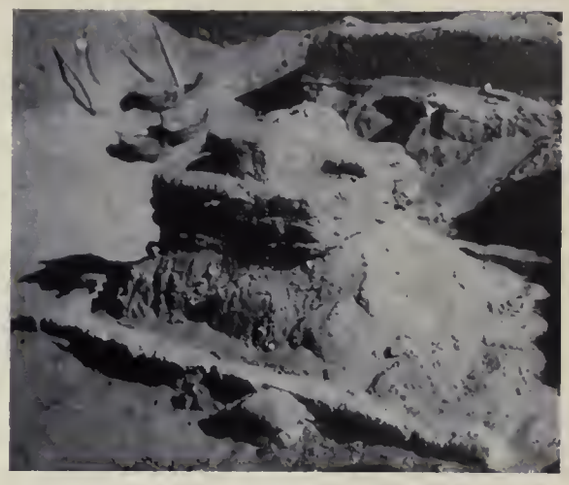

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1. MASTABA E. 418. IN FOREGROUND SHAFT 417.
2. MASTABA OVER E. 418.
3. E. 4041. BODY IN SHAFT.
4. E. 408.
5. E. 422. MUMMY IN COFFIN.
6. E. 422. MUMMY IN COFFIN.

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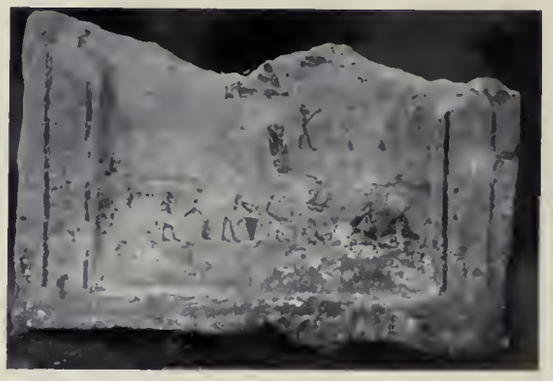

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1. ARCHAIC WALL. NORTH-WEST FACE.
2. MASTABA N. FROM WEST.
3. MASTABA H. WITH STELA IN POSITION.
4. S. 29. DEPOSIT OF OBJECTS UNDER HEAD.
5. MASTABA H. STELA OF IUU. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{10}$.
6. SHAFTS S. 570 and 571. REMAINS OF VAULTING.
7. MASTABA K. FROM NORTH EAST. REMAINS OF ARCHAIC WALL VISIBLE BENEATH.

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1. FIRST DYNASTY TOMBS. S. 187 and 168.
2. FIRST DYNASTY TOMB. S. 161.
3. DEPOSIT OF FIRST DYNASTY POTTERY IN S.
4. S. 498. MIDDLE KINGDOM BURIAL WITH MUD WIG.
5. SET OF SMALL STELA CHAMBERS IN S.
6. MASTABA S. 25, FROM EAST.

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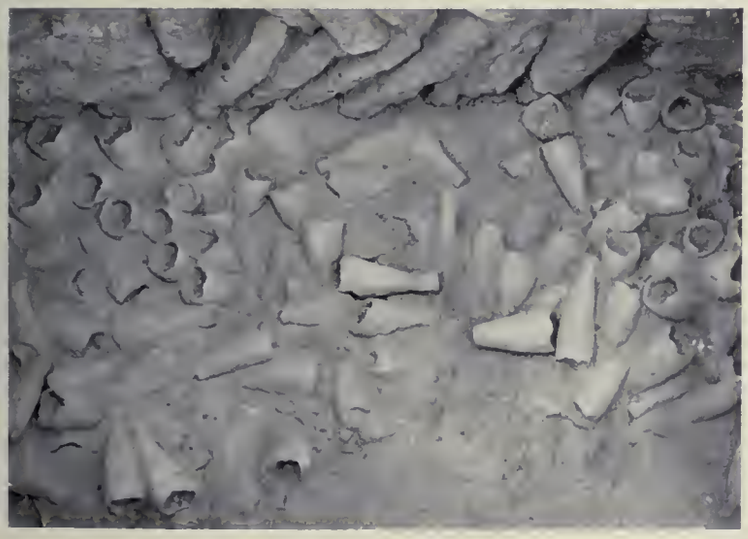

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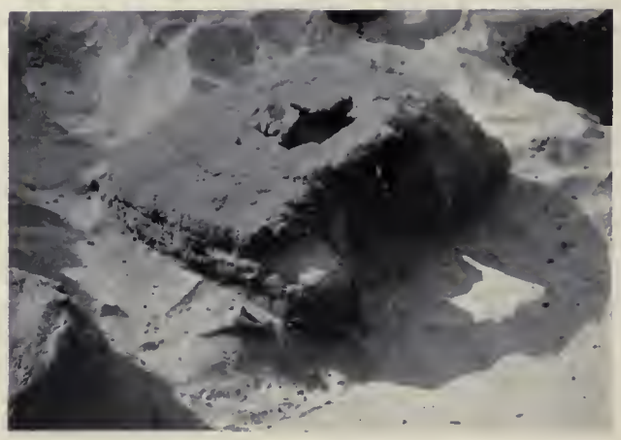

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1. MASTABA A. COURTYARD FROM NORTH.
2. STELA AND OFFERING TABLE OF IUU IN POSITION. MASTABA H.
3. MASTABA N., FROM SOUTH.
4. MINIATURE MASTABA. S. 36.
5. OFFERING VASES IN MASTABA N., FROM ABOVE.
6. MINIATURE MASTABA NEAR S. 23.

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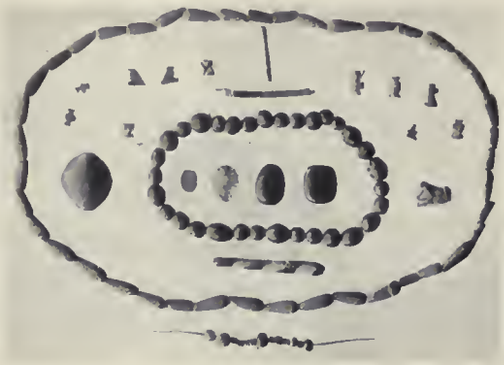

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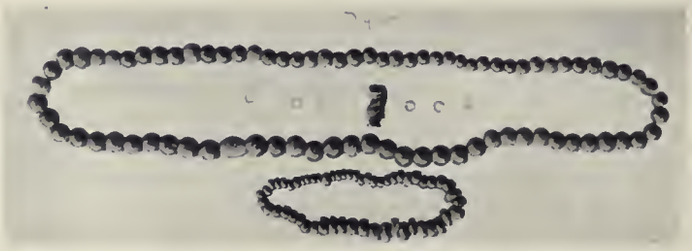

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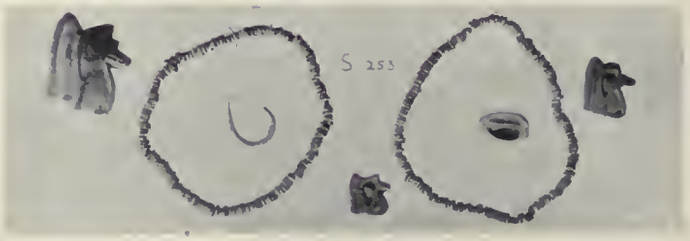

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1. S. FIRST DYNASTY FLINTS. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{2}$.
2. S. 44. *Sc.* $\frac{2}{3}$.
3. S. 39. LOWER SOUTH CHAMBER. *Sc.* $\frac{3}{4}$.
4. S. 29. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
5. D. 9. LOWEST NORTH CHAMBER. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
6. S. 12. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{2}$.
7. S. 484. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$.
8. D. 4. (*top and bottom*). S. 340. NORTH CHAMBER (*centre*). *Sc.* $\frac{2}{3}$.
9. D. 77. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{4}$.
10. S. 253. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
11. D. 9. UPPER NORTH CHAMBER.

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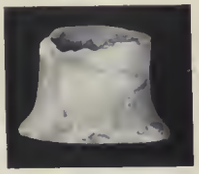

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1. S. 548. *Sc.* $\frac{2}{3}$.
2. S. 603. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
3. S. 545, 548 and 601. *Sc.* $\frac{2}{3}$.
4. FIRST DYNASTY VASES. S. *Sc.* $\frac{2}{3}$.
5. T. 22. *Sc.* $\frac{2}{3}$.
6. S. 21. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
7. R. 106. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
8. S. 29. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{3}$.
9. M. 2.
10. K. 2.
11. S. 44.
12, 15 and 16. D. 9. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{4}$.
13. S. 622. *Sc.* $\frac{2}{3}$.
14. S. 51. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{3}$.
17. S. 570. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{4}$.

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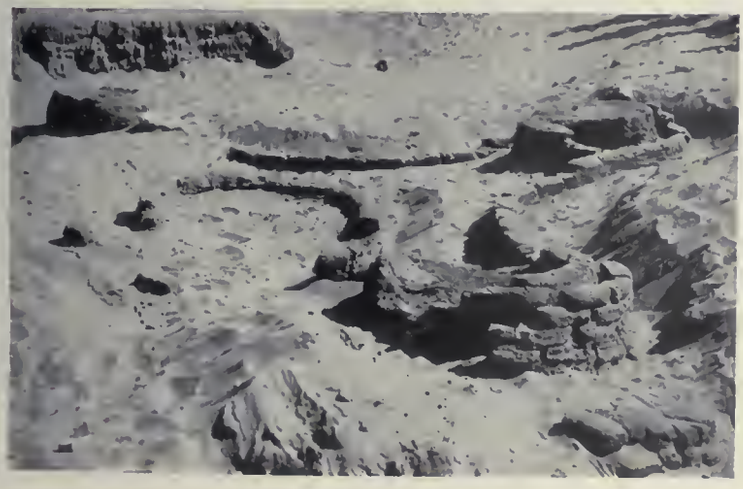

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1. C. 81. GARDEN AND RAMP FROM SOUTH.
2. C. 81. CHAPEL FROM SOUTH-EAST.
3. C. 81. SHAFT AND CHAPEL FROM NORTH-EAST.
4. C. 81. GARDEN AND RAMP FROM SOUTH-EAST.
5. C. 81. GARDEN FROM NORTH-WEST.
6. B. 57. SHAFT WITH RECESSES.

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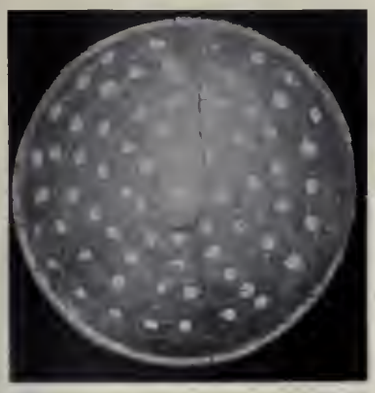
1. SHAFT AND SUPERSTRUCTURE C. 3 FROM NORTH.
2. MASTABAS C. 86–89 FROM NORTH.
3. A. 13.
4. A. 5.
5. VIEW DOWN INTO COPTIC CHAPEL D. 68 FROM NORTH-EAST.



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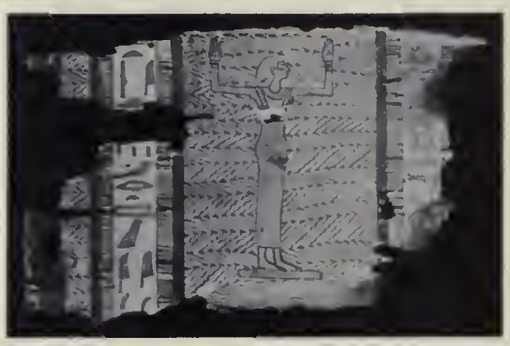

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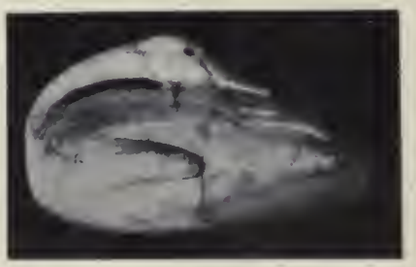

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1. Z. 2a. *Sc.* ½.
2. GROUP W. *Sc. about* ½.
3. B. 13. SHABTIS OF RENSEN3. *Sc. about* ⅔.
4. X. 3. PAINTED COFFIN. *Sc. about* ½.
5. C. 66. PAINTED COFFIN. *Sc. about* ½.
6. C. 52. IVORY WAND AND ALABASTER. *Sc.* ½.
7. W. 3. MIRROR AND HANDLE. *Sc.* ⅓.
6. O. 4 (*sides*); B. 13 (*centre*). *Sc.* ½.
9. B. 13. *Sc.* ⅔.
10. B. 13. *Sc.* ⅔.
11. O. 4. *Sc.* ½.
12. B. 12. *Sc.* ½.
13. X. 52. ALABASTER. *Sc.* ⅔.
14. X. 52. BLUE MARBLE. *Sc.* ⅔.

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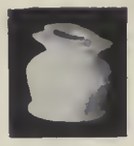

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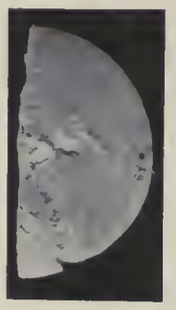

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1. Z. 1. (*taller*) and R. 59. *Sc.* ½.
2 and 3. W. TOP. FRONT AND BACK VIEW. *Sc.* ½.
4. W. 2. *Sc.* ⅔.
5. W. 11. *Sc.* ½.
6. A. 4c., A. 4a. and A. 4. (*left to right*). *Sc.* ½.
7. R. 108. *Sc.* ⅔.
8. R. 18. *Sc.* ½.
9 and 10. R. 16. *Sc.* ½.
11. BEZ FIGURES. M. TOP. *Sc.* ½.
12. M. 1. *Sc. about* ½.
13. T. 3. *Sc. about* ½.
14. 8. 13. MODEL VASES. *Sc. about* ½.
15. C. 66. NAME ON COFFIN IN HIERATIC.
16 and 17. A. 9. *Sc. about* ½.
18. T. 52. *Sc.* ½.
19. R. 109. *Sc.* ⅔.
20. T. 3. *Sc.* ½.

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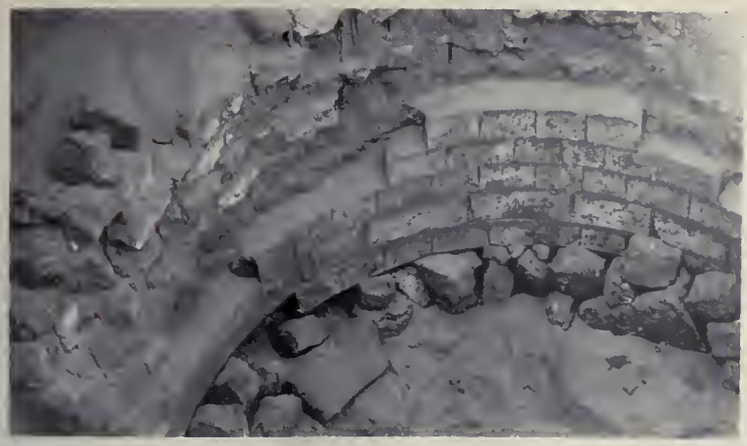
1-3. X. 58. STATUE BASE. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{4}$.
4 and 5. X. 57. STATUE OF BLACK STONE. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{10}$.
6. A. 4c. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{2}$.
7. D. TOP. BEZ FIGURES.
8. C. 84. MUD PYRAMID FIGURES AND BEAD. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{2}$.
9. W. 11. *Sc.* $\frac{2}{3}$.
10. B. 15. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{2}$.
11. T. 43. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
12. C. 56.
13. Z. 3. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{12}$.
14. T. 71. *Sc.* $\frac{2}{3}$.
15. T. 87. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.



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1. FINE LIMESTONE CASING AT BOTTOM OF WELL.
2. UPPER WALLS AT EAST ENTRANCE TO HYPOGEUM, FROM ABOVE.
3. EXCAVATIONS IN THE GREAT COURT OF THE WELL, FROM SOUTH-EAST.
4. SHAFT P.β. WITH ITS SUPERSTRUCTURE, FROM WEST.
5. NORTH-WEST FACE OF THE GREAT COURT.

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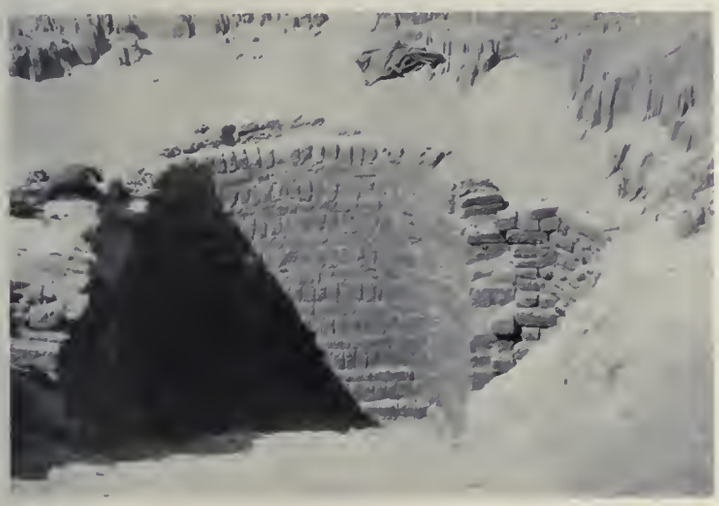

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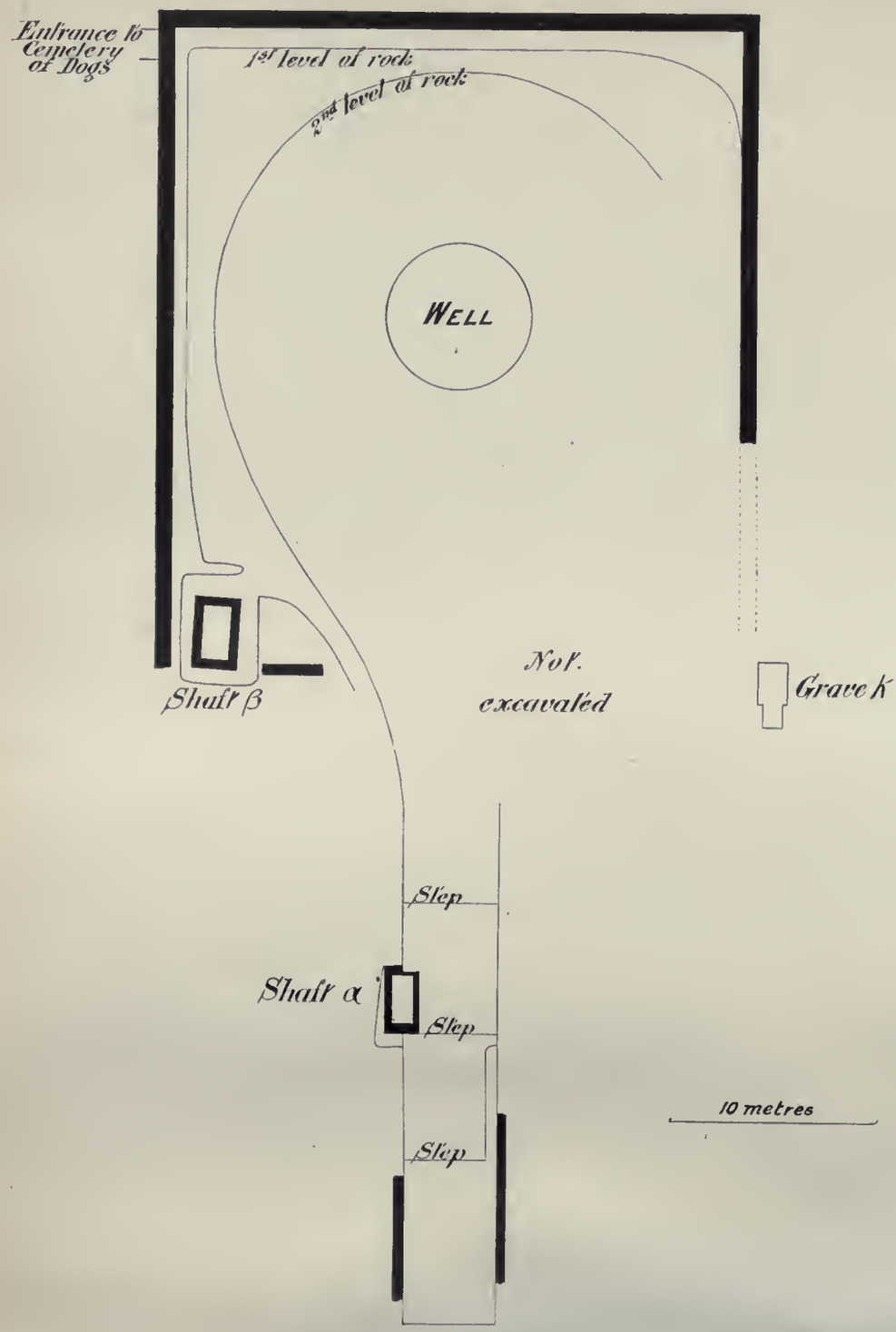
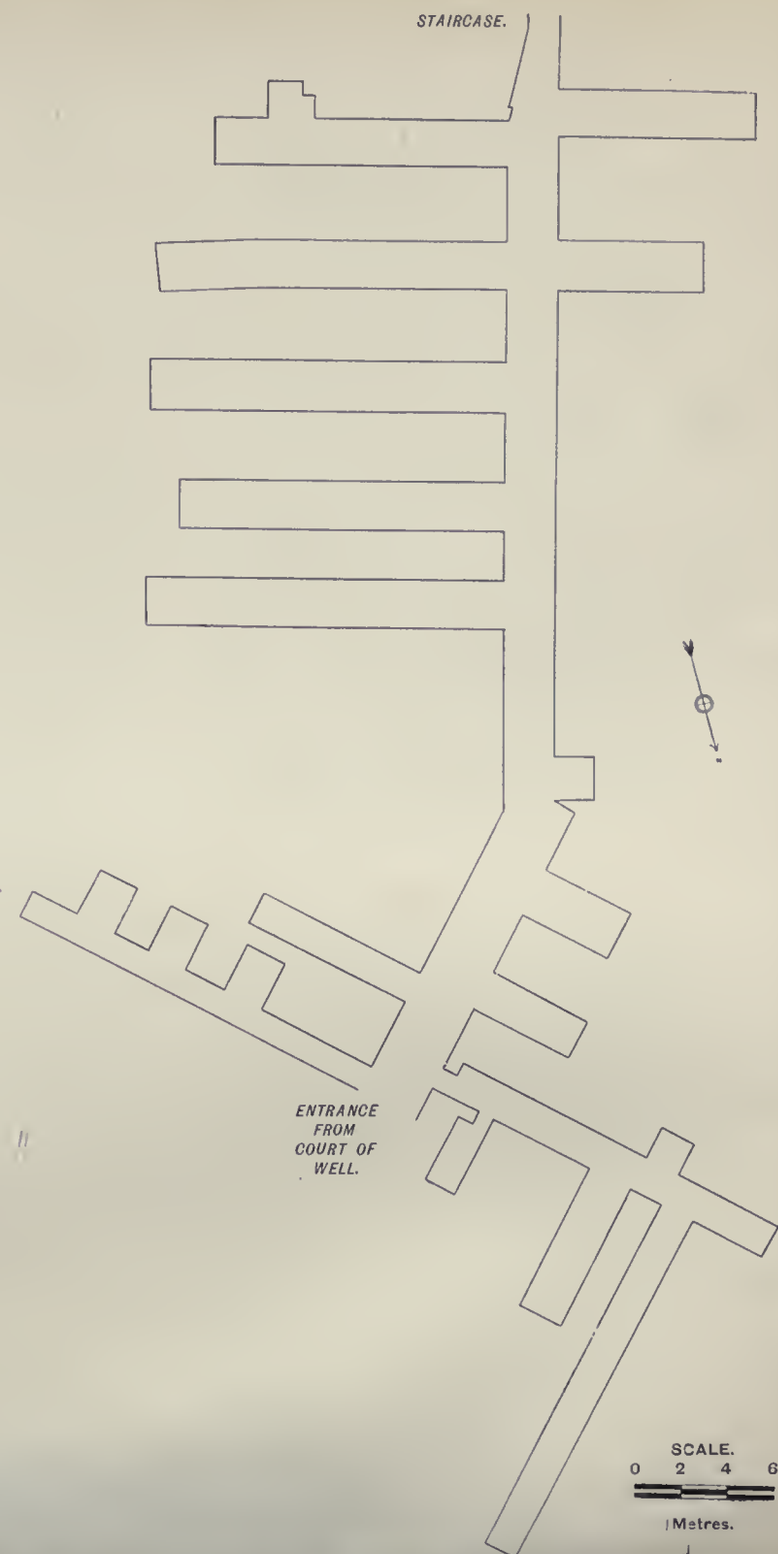
1. SLOPING ENTRANCE TO COURT FROM NORTH-WEST.
2. WEST CORNER WITH ENTRANCE TO HYPOGEUM.
3. NORTH-WEST END OF PIT CONTAINING STAIRCASE ENTRANCE TO HYPOGEUM.
4. UPPER BRICK LINING OF WELL FROM SOUTH.
5. SHAFT TOMB P.β. FROM NORTH.
6. DOGS' BONES IN WEST ENTRANCE TO HYPOGEUM.

PLATE XVIII.



PLAN OF WELL AND COURT.



PLAN OF HYPOGEUM OF DOGS.

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1 and 4. ENTRANCE TO HYPOGEUM FROM COURT AFTER REMOVAL OF UPPER WALLS.
2. STAIRCASE ENTRANCE TO HYPOGEUM.
3. TOMB P.α., FROM NORTH.
5. VIEW OF WEST CORNER OF COURT.

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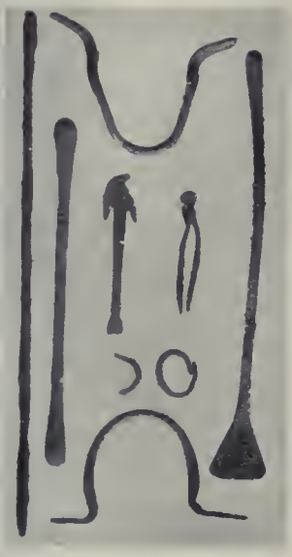

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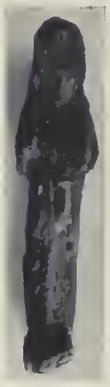

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1. VASE LIDS. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{12}$.
2. WOODEN BOX. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{6}$.
3. BRONZES. *Sc.* $\frac{2}{3}$.
4. SHABTIS. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{11}$.
5. SHABTI JARS. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{6}$.
6. SMALL OBJECTS. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{6}$.
7. WOODEN SHABTI. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{6}$.
8. WOODEN FIGURE OF DOG. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{6}$.
9. SHABTIS. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{6}$.
10. SHABTI JAR. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{6}$.
11. SMALL OBJECTS. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{6}$.

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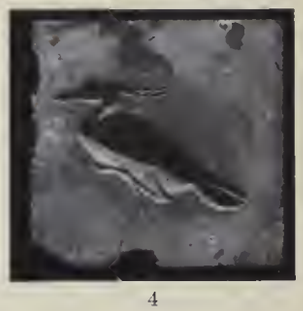

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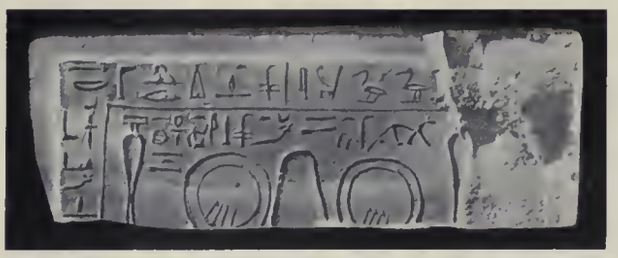

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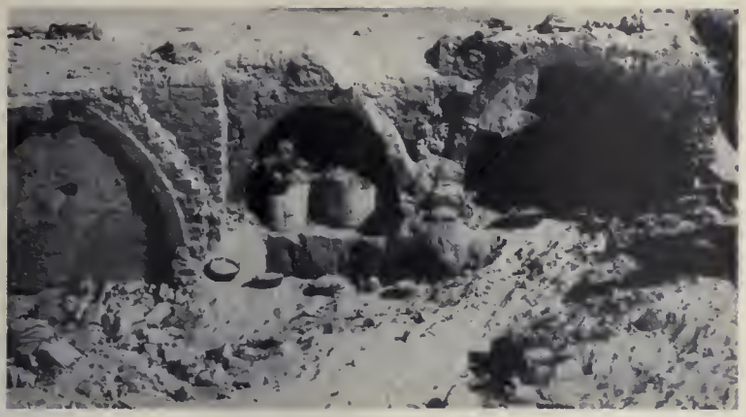
15

1. P.β. *Sc.* $\frac{2}{3}$.
2 and 3. P.β. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
4, 8, 11. LIMESTONE MOULDS. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{3}$.
5 and 7. P.β. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{4}$.
6. P.β. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{4}$.
9 P.β. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{12}$.
10. STELA No. 11. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{4}$.
12. R. 115. IVORY BRACELET IN THREE PIECES WITH BRONZE RIVETS. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{12}$.
13. P.β. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{8}$.
14. P.β. *Sc.* $\frac{2}{3}$.
15. P.β. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{4}$.
16. COPTIC PAINTED VASE. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{8}$.



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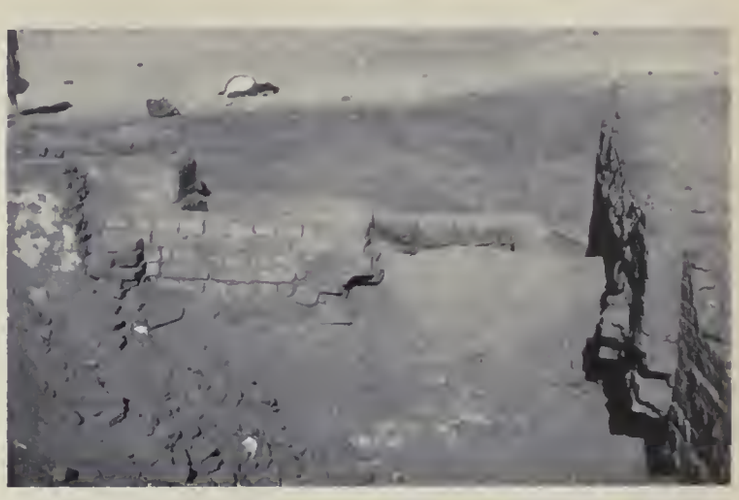

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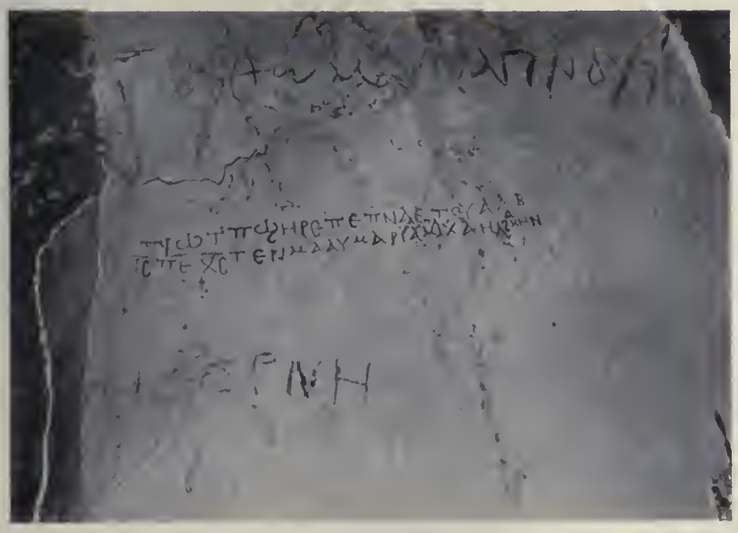

5

6

1. E. 438 and 439. HALF-DESTROYED VAULTS, SHOWING STRUCTURE AND STONE COFFINS.
2. E. 440. VAULT WITH SHAFT AND TUNNEL ENTRANCE, FROM WEST.
3. Y. 9. MASTABA OVER VAULT, FROM NORTH-EAST.
4. R. 93. PLASTERED BARREL VAULT, FROM SOUTH.
5. COPTIC INSCRIPTIONS IN ALTAR NICHE. D. 69.
6. E. 3. LATE VAULT. MUMMIES AS LEFT BY PLUNDERERS.

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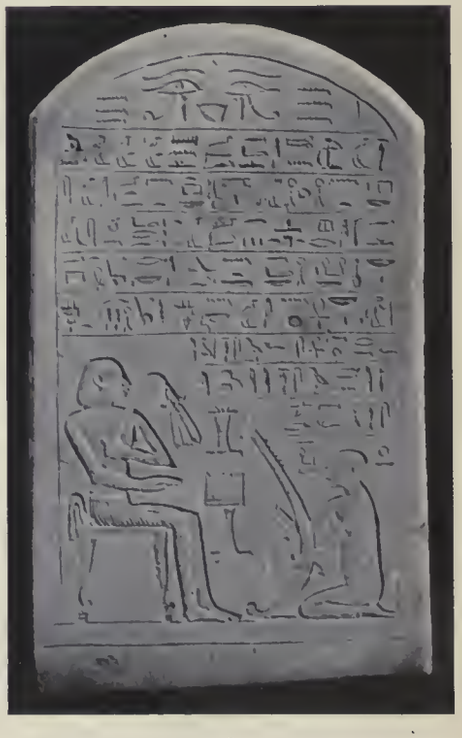

5

1. STELA No. 23. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{8}$.
2. STELA No. 27. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{10}$.
3. STELA No. 2. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{8}$.

4. STELA No. 9. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{8}$.
5. STELA No. 20. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.

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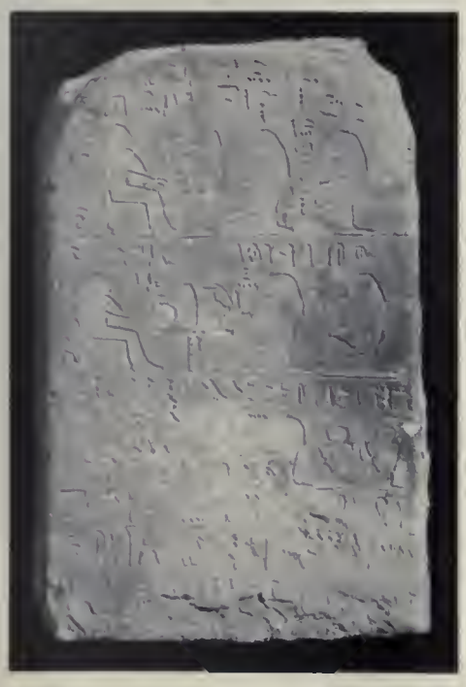

5

6

1. OFFERING STELA No. 26. *Sc.*
2 and 4. STELA No. 13. *Sc.* $\frac{3}{8}$.
3. STELA No. 3. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{12}$.

5. STELA No. 24. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
6. STELA FRAGMENT FROM REGION R. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{12}$.

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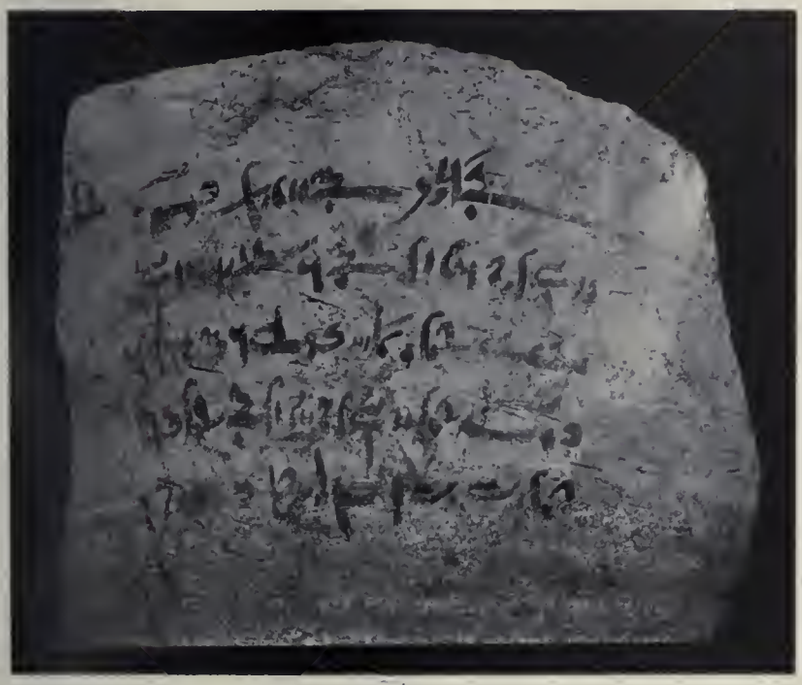

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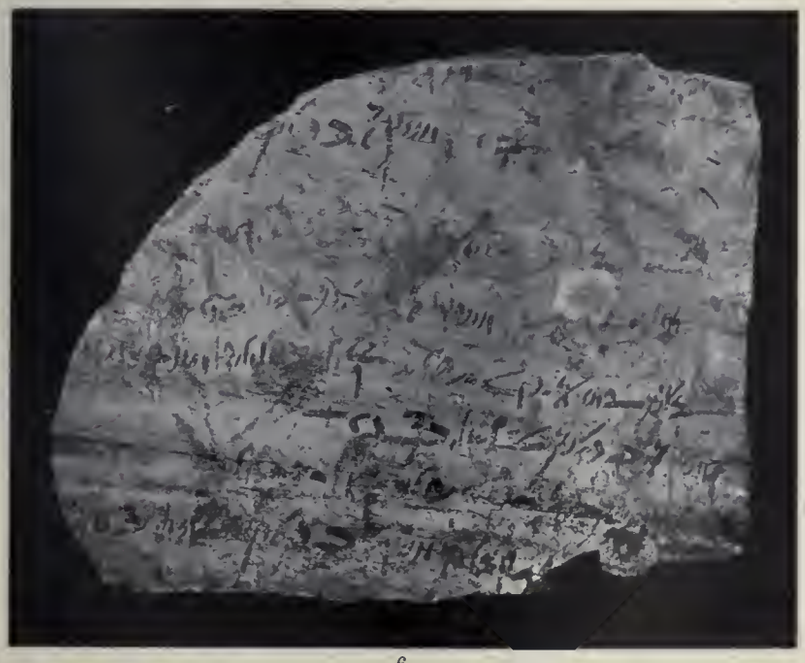

6

7

1. STELA No. 21. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{8}$.
2. STELA No. 4. TOMB R. 2. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
3. PAINTED STELA OF GRAECO-ROMAN (?) PERIOD. REGION T. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
4 and 6. DEMOTIC OSTRACA. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
5. STELA No. 19. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{12}$.
7. STELA No. 18. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{8}$.

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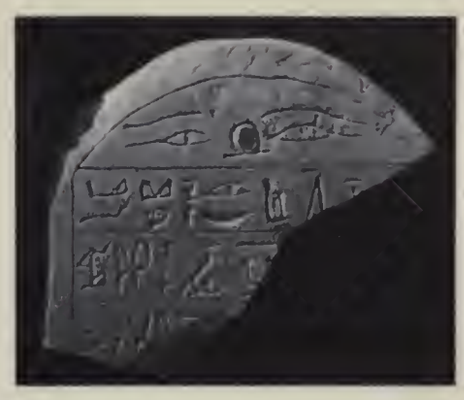

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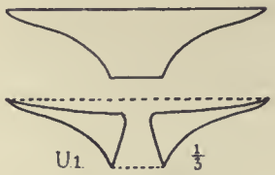
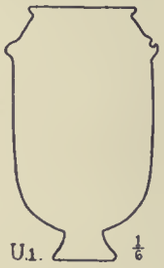
7

1. STELA No. 14. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{8}$.
2. STELA No. 7. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{8}$.
3. STELA No. 5. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{12}$.
4. STELA No. 28. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{8}$.
5. STELA No. 1. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{8}$.
6. PAINTED STELA No. 8. *Sc. about* $\frac{1}{8}$.
7. PORTION OF SQUATTING FIGURE. INSCRIPTION No. 22.

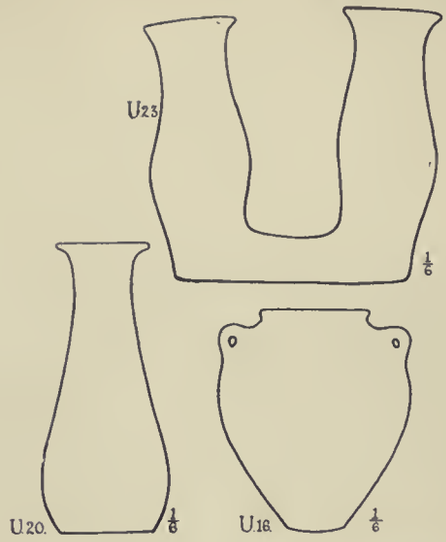
WHITE ON RED WARE, U TOP.



MACE HEAD.

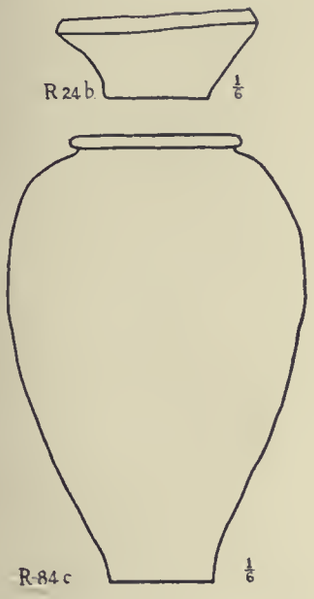


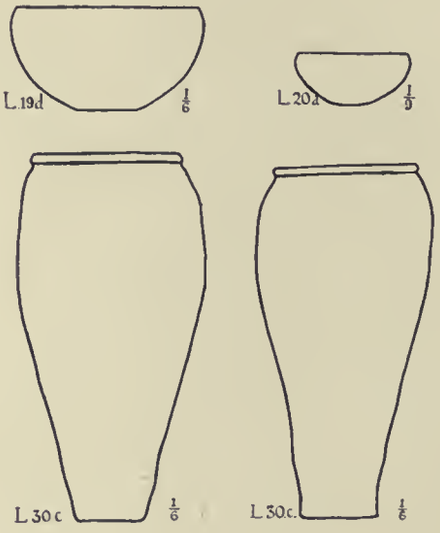
STONE VASE.



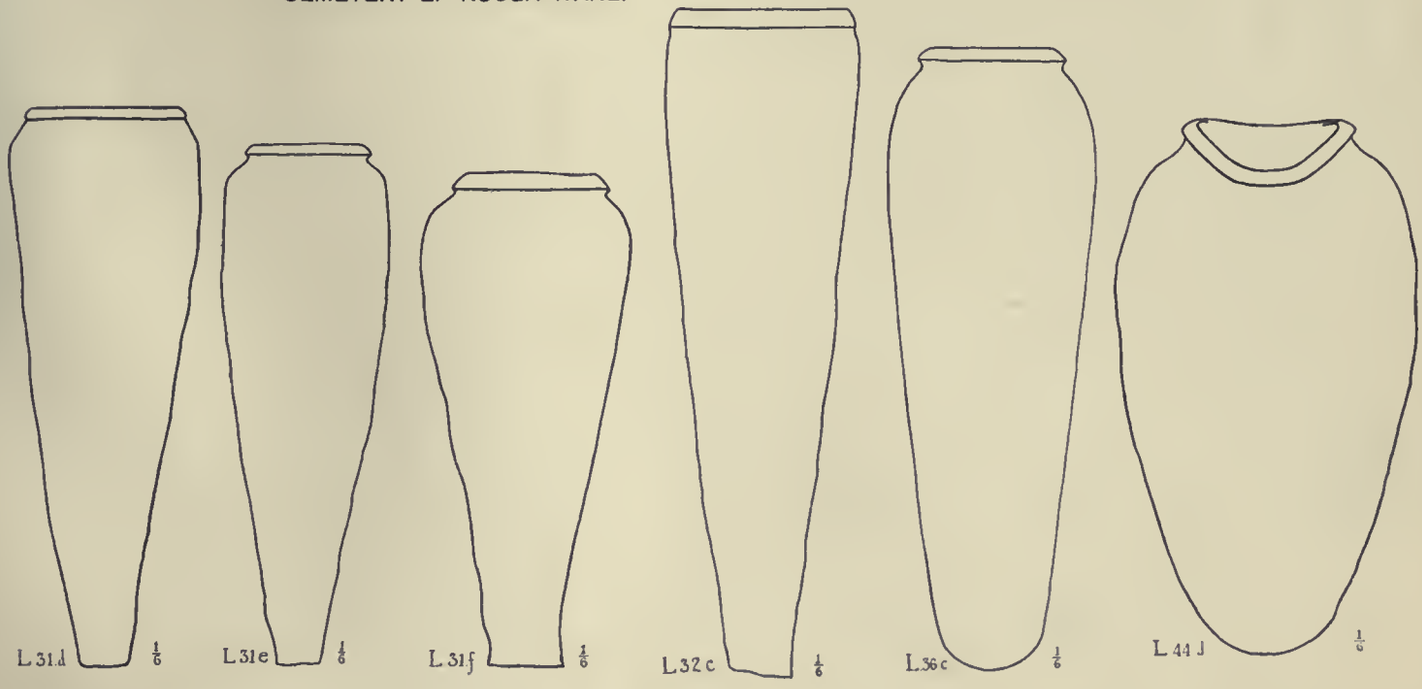
CEMETERY U. POLISHED RED WARE.

CEMETERY E.
POLISHED RED WARE.

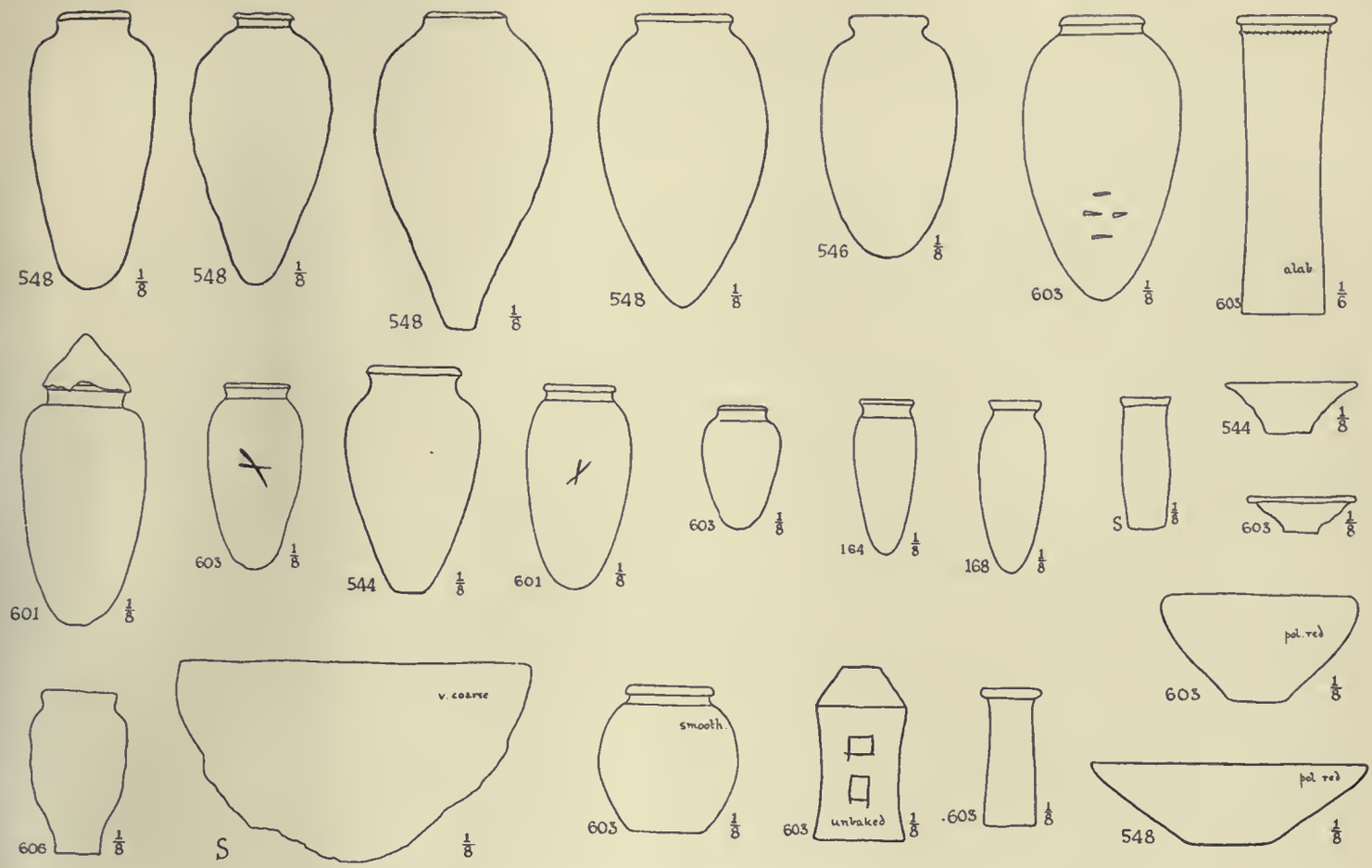




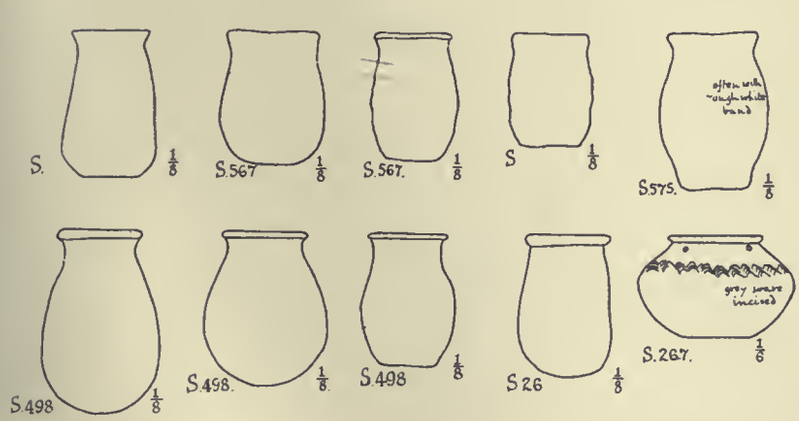
CEMETERY E. ROUGH WARE.



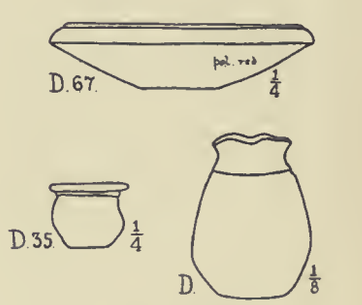
CEMETERY E. LATE WARE.



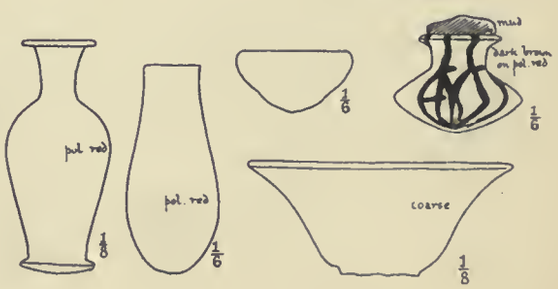
CEMETERY S. FIRST DYNASTY.



CEMETERY S. XIITH DYNASTY.



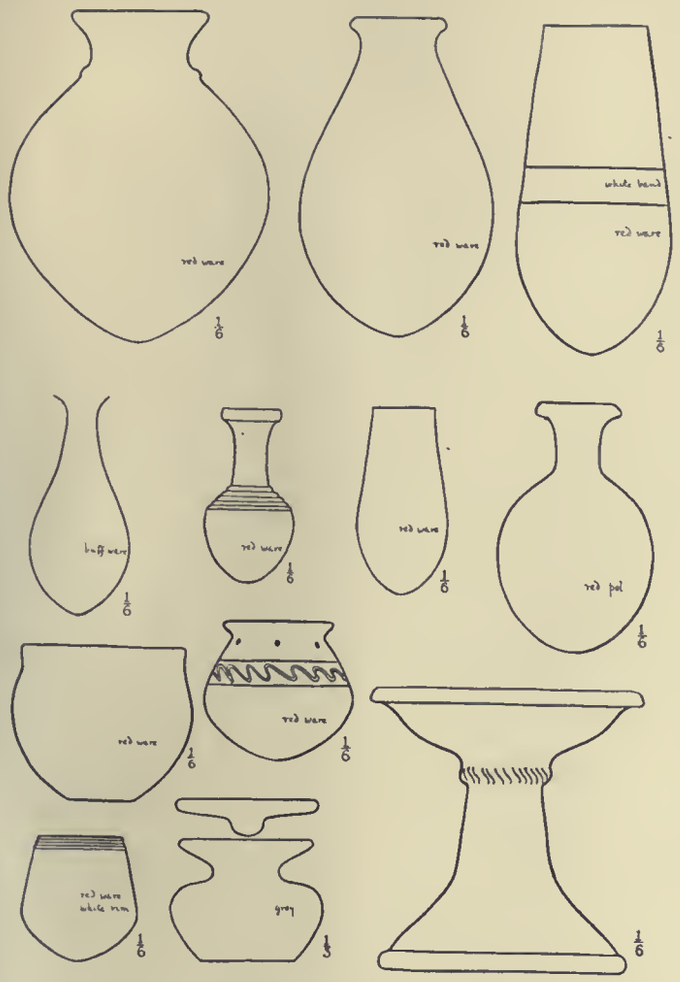
CEMETERY D.
XIITH DYNASTY.



S.624. PROBABLY XVIIITH DYNASTY.

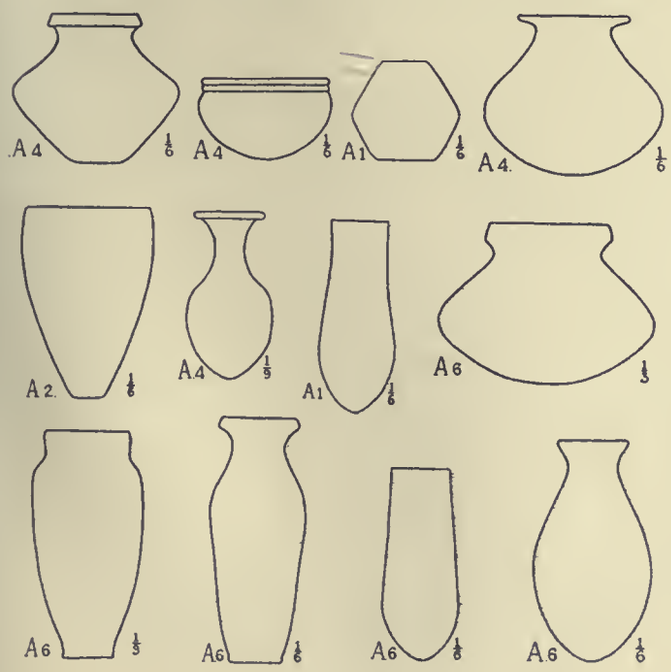
X.52. SOUTH CHAMBER, 21 TYPES.

incised
Also W.17.
red pol.
Also W 3,5,8,9,10,11,14,15,16,17,22
black
grey
white
Also W 11
Also W 3,5,8.
unbaked mud
Also W 6.
W.2.
red pol.
incised
coarse
lt. and red Lines on body
very coarse
N.
W.6.
Also W.17.
W.11.
W.19.
W.15.
W.18.
W.17.
Also W 6
Also W.17
See also W 5,3.
W.10.
double vase
square mouth
W.8.
Also W 2,5,6,10,17
pol inside
Also W. 5,6,11.
lid?
pol outside
Also W 5.
W.3.
5
21
also W10
red pol inside
W.5 & W.21.

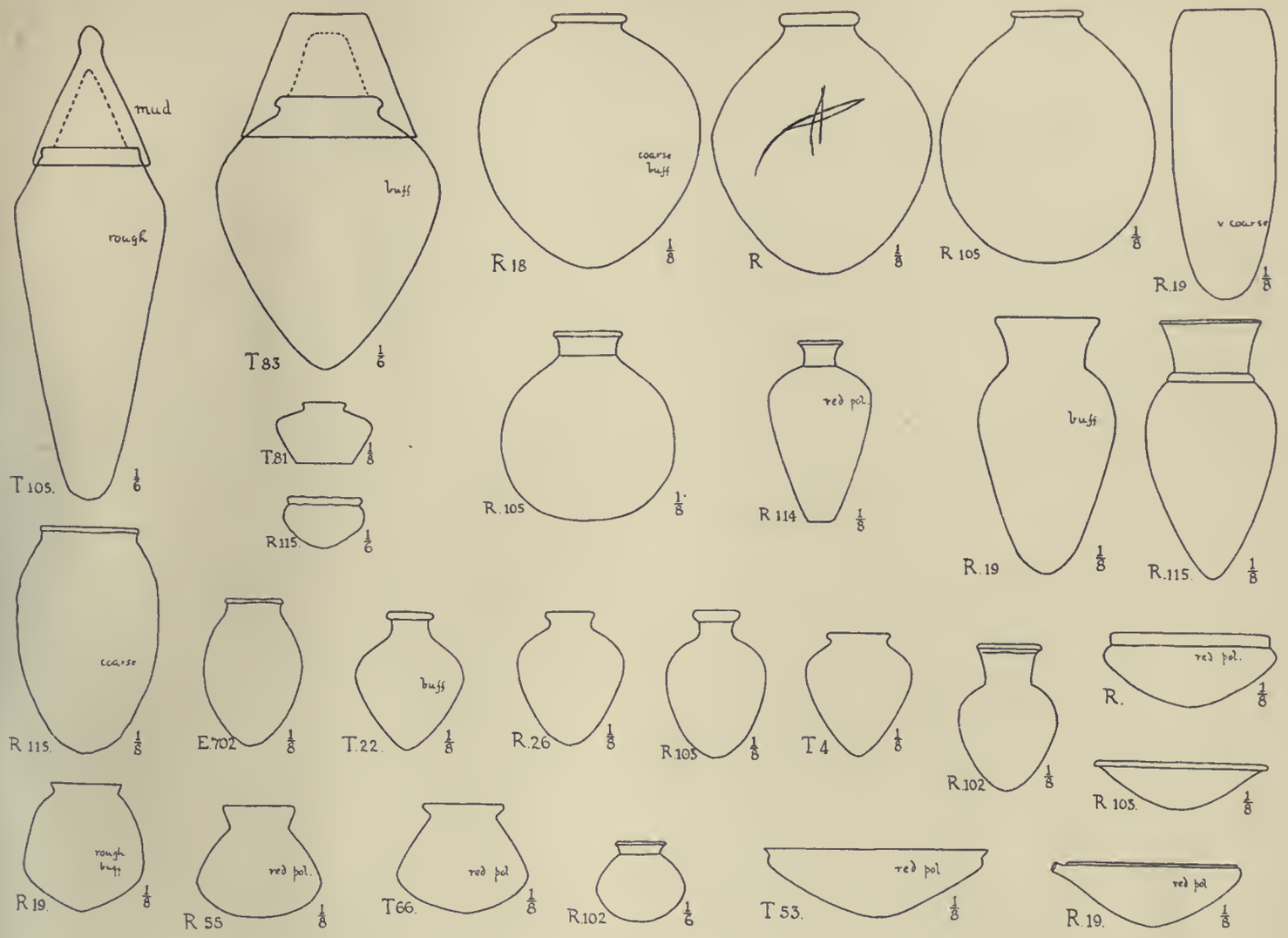


X.52. NORTH CHAMBER. INTERMEDIATE PERIOD.

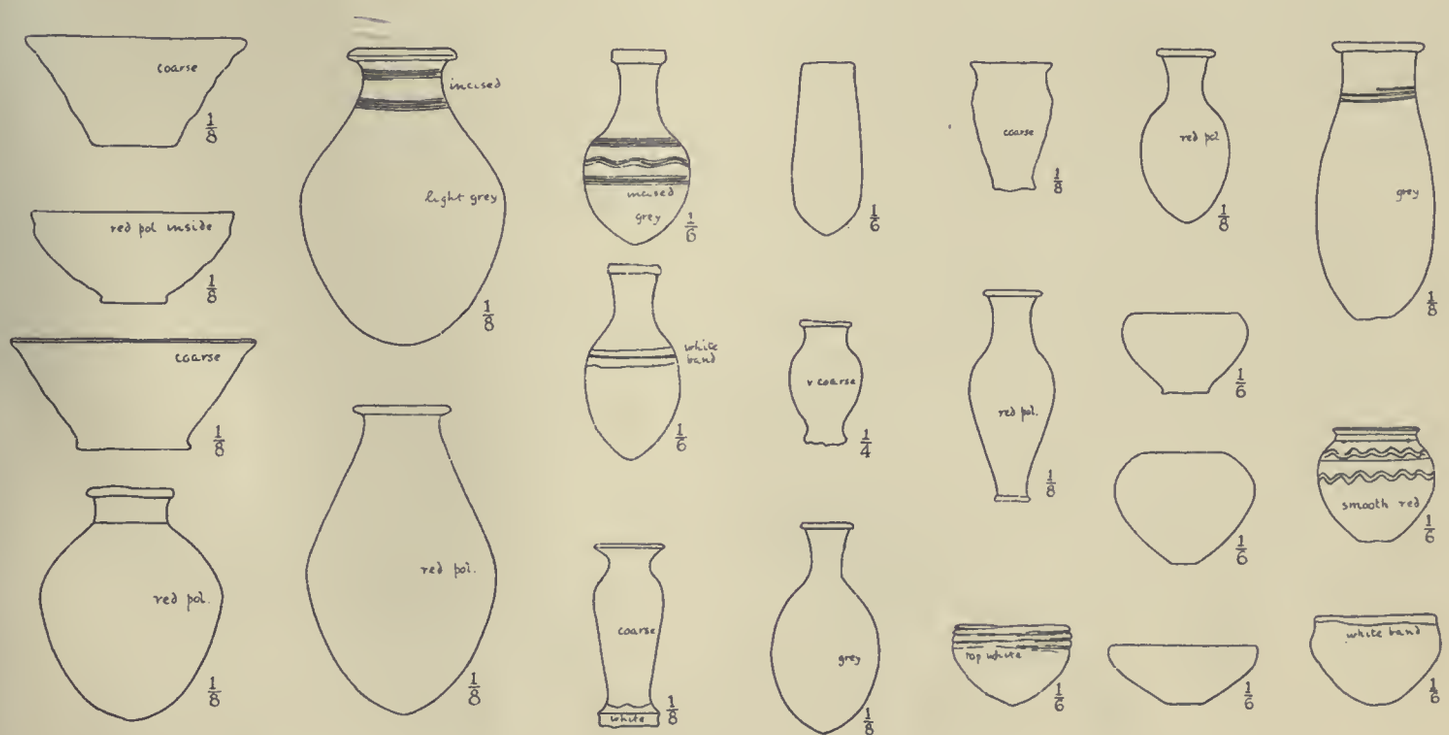
X.64. LATE INTERMEDIATE OR EARLY XVIIITH DYNASTY.



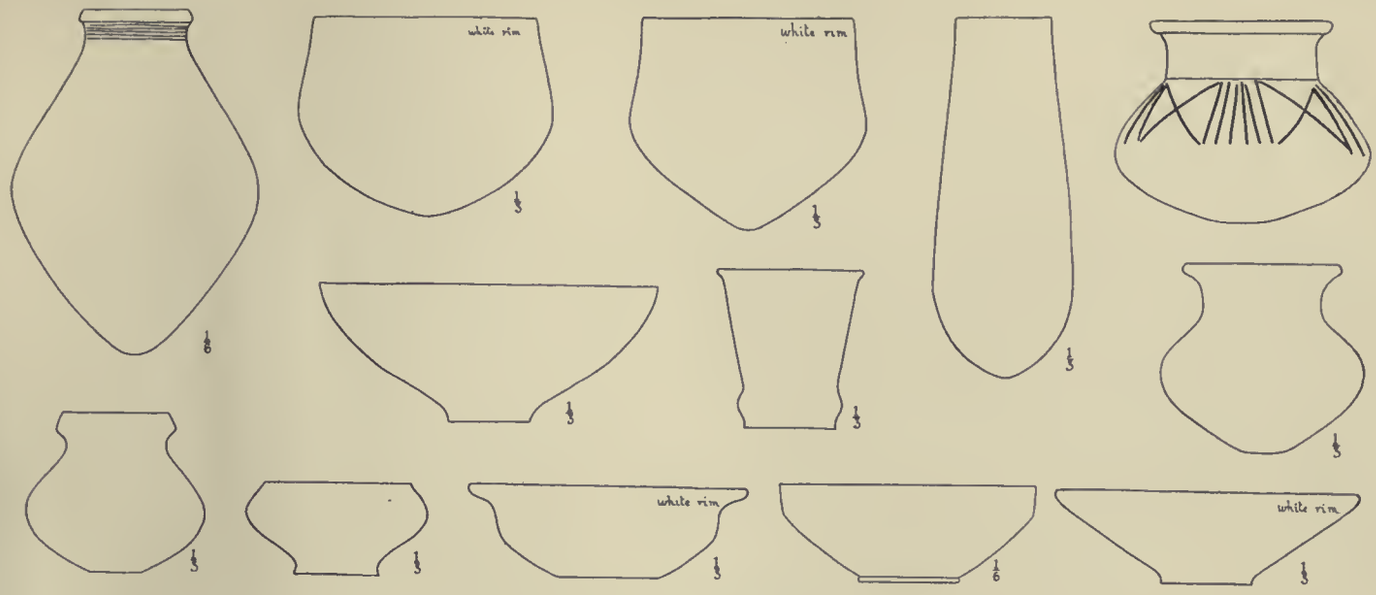
GROUP A. EARLY XVIIITH DYN.



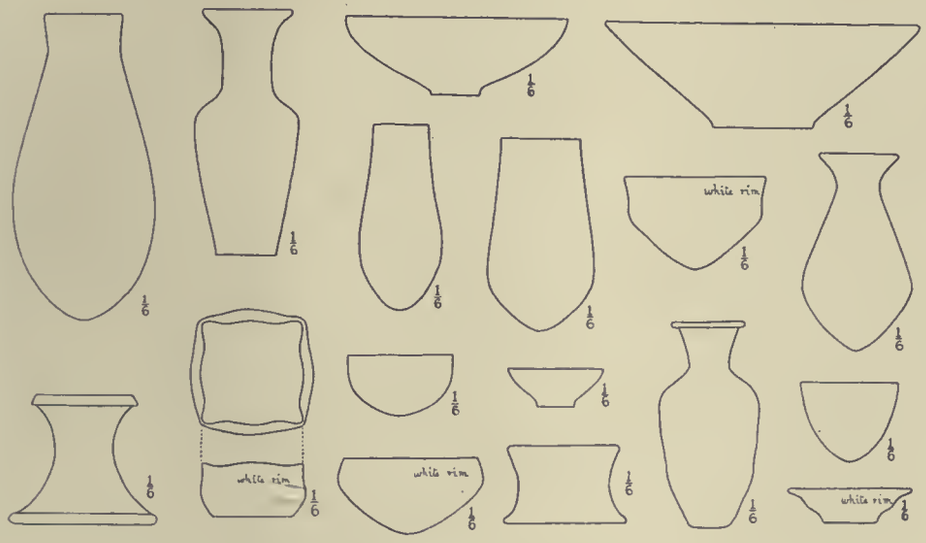
VITH DYNASTY.



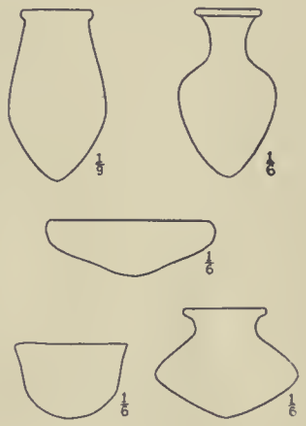
R.108. EARLY XVIIITH DYNASTY.



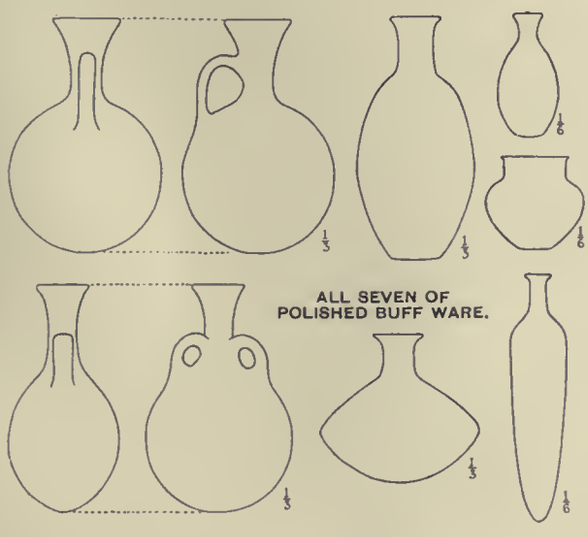
B.12. THOTHMES I.



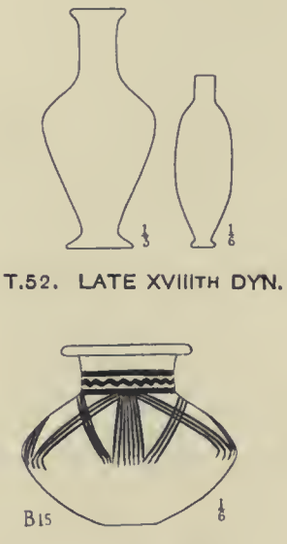
R.51. EARLY XVIIITH DYN.



R.18. EARLY XVIIITH DYN.



T.3. LATE XVIIITH DYNASTY.



T.52. LATE XVIIITH DYN.

T.4. IBIS JAR.

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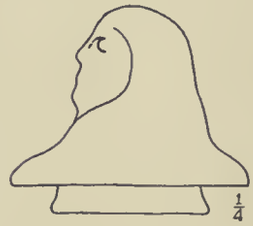
1/2

1/4

1/2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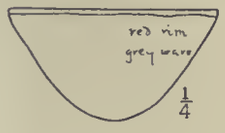

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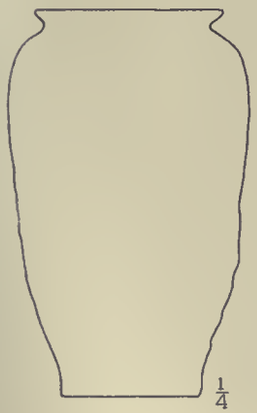
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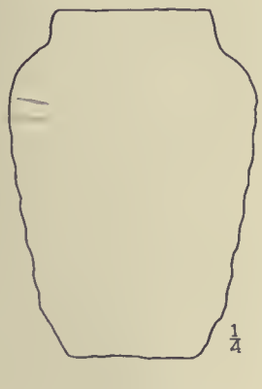
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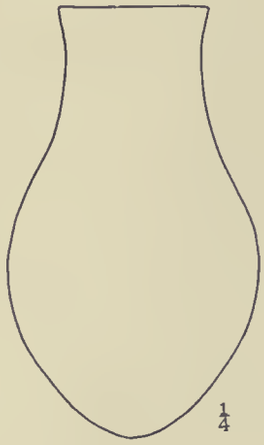
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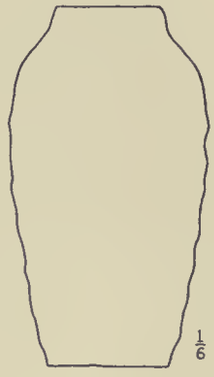
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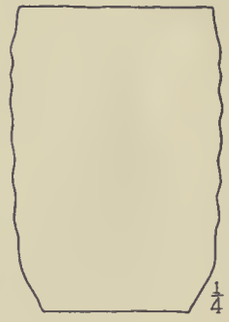
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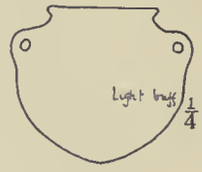

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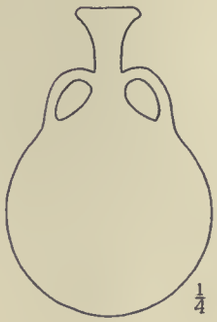
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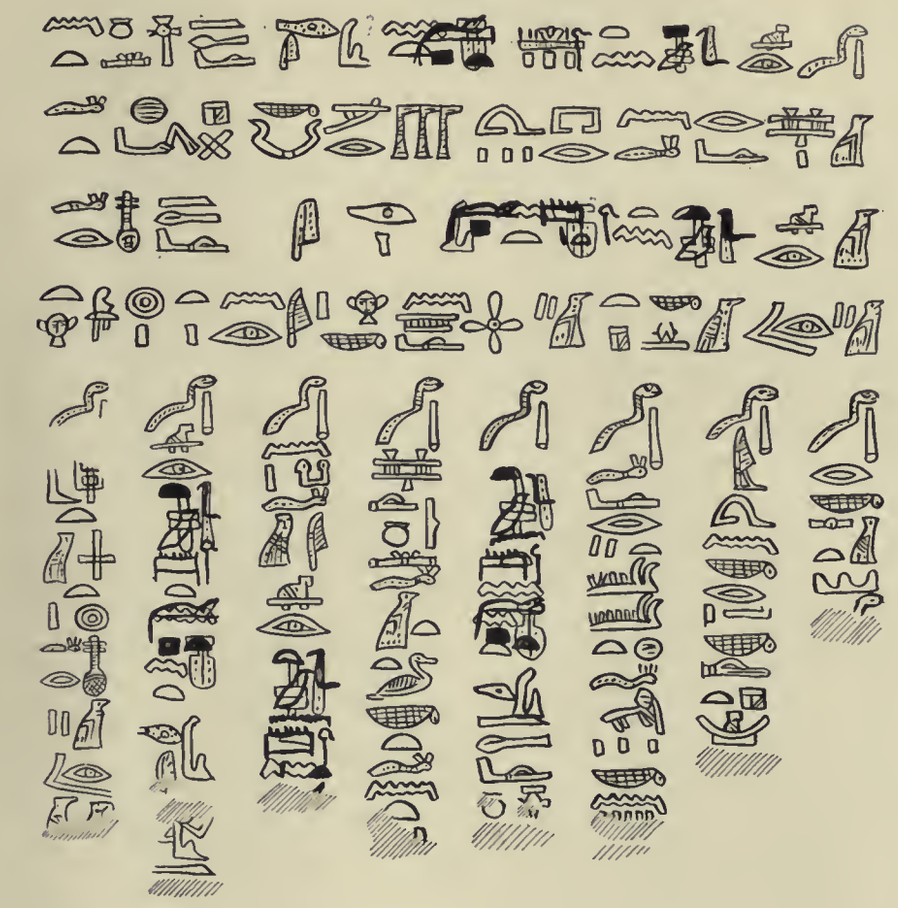
STELA OF HENNU. SCALE ⅛.



B.12.N.

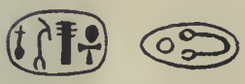
S.150

P.1.3.

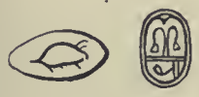
B.13.a.

S.267.

T.22.



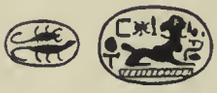
T.71.



R.18.N.

S.49

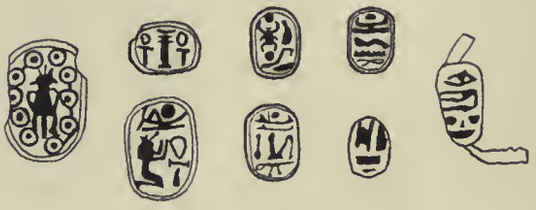
S.61.



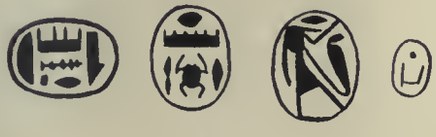
T.3.

T. top

S.31



S.29.



M.1.

T.41.

S.324.

A.13.

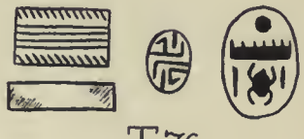
B.12.

P.1.2.

P.K.A.

S.48

S.44

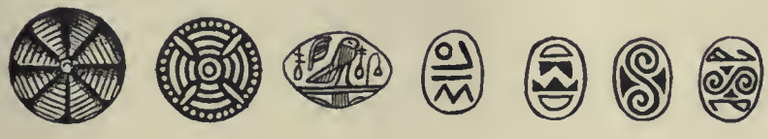


T.76.

R.16.

S.624.S.1.

T.73.



A.5.

S.62.

T.91

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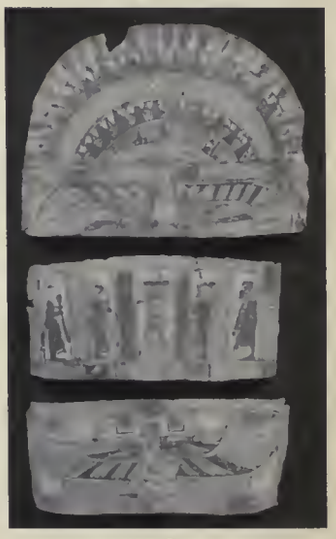

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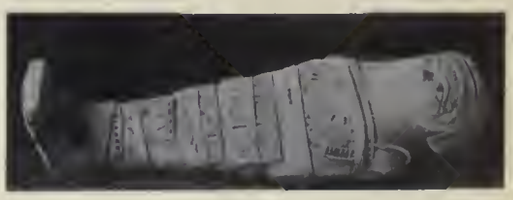

14

1. E. 422. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
2. E. 460. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
3 and 4. E. 422. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
5. E. 460. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
6. S. 499. *Sc.* $\frac{3}{4}$.
7. E. 460.
8 and 9. E. 422. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
10. S. 620. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
11. E. TOP (*left*) AND T. TOP. LATE GLAZED WARE. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$.
12. Z. 2. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{10}$.
13. S. 201. *Sc. about* $\frac{3}{4}$.
14. E. 422. *Sc.* $\frac{1}{10}$.

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1. X. 7. *Sc. about* ½.
2. X. 7. *Sc.* ½.
3. T. TOP. BRONZE. *Sc.* ¼.
4. P.β. *Sc.* ½.
5. UMM EL QA'ÂB. INSCRIPTION No. 16. *Sc.* $\frac{4}{15}$.
6. P.β. *Sc.* ¼.
7. S. 201.

8 and 9. LARGE LIMESTONE SHABTIS FOUND IN DRIFT SAND NEAR THE OSIREION.

10 and 11. LAMPS FROM DOGS' HYPOGEUM. *Sc.* ⅓.

12. P.β. VASE LIDS. *Sc.* ½.

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